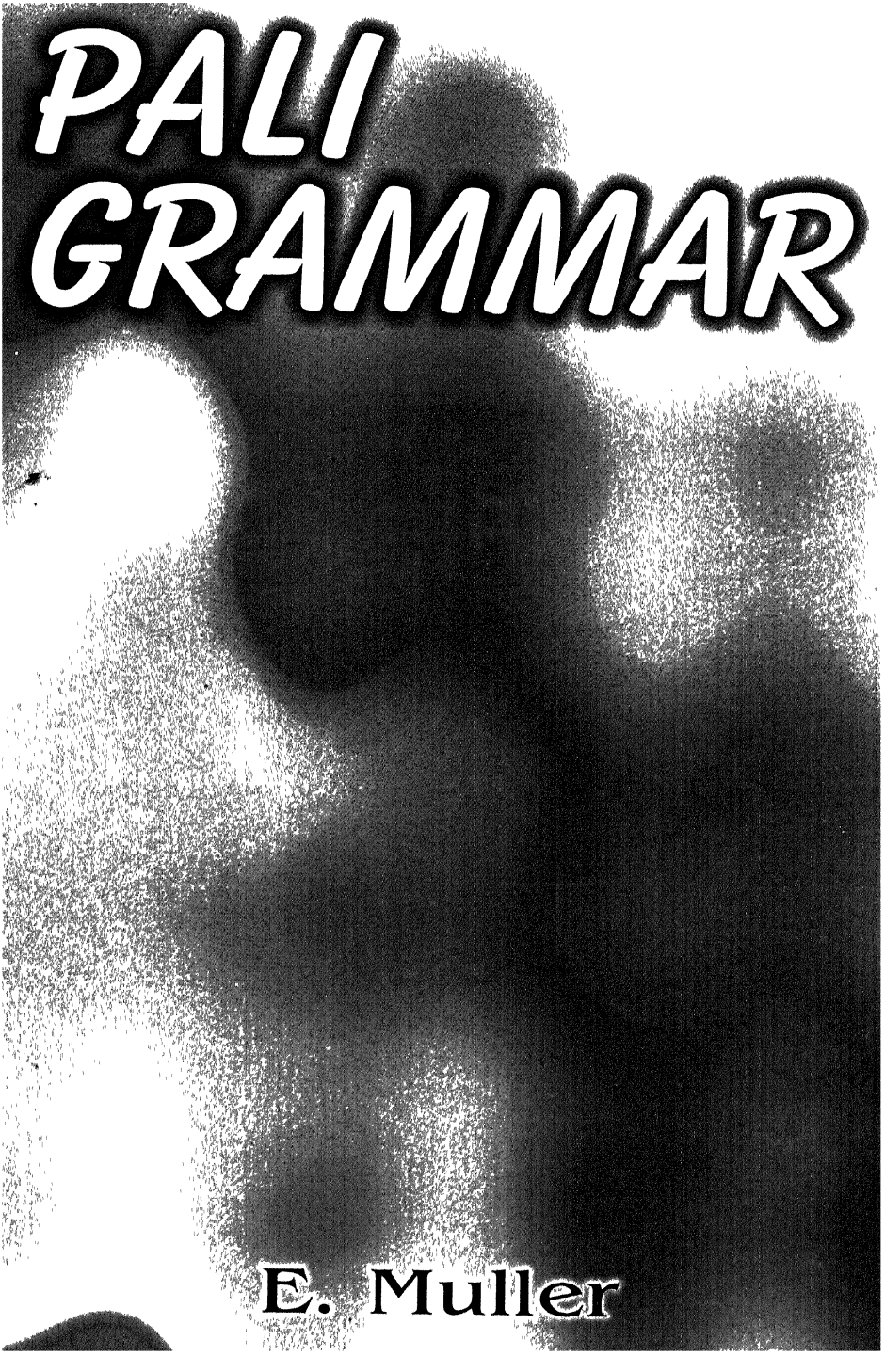
PALI GRAMMAR



E. Muller

About the book

I only intended to help the students of Buddhistical literature, by collecting the ideomatical peculiarities of the sacred language, comparing it chiefly to Sanskrit, and in a few cases also to the other Indian vernaculars. As the publication of Pāli text has taken so wide dimensions during the last ten years, I thought it would not be out of place to consider and work out the new materials that have come into our possession through these books, mostly unknown to Childers and the other who made Pāli Grammar an object of their studies. Even E. Kuhn, whose "Beiträge zur Pāli Grammatik" have been of great help to me, and whose plan I followed almost throughout my book, only worked from a comparatively small number of texts, and just the oldest and most interesting, like Vinaya and Jātaka, were all but unknown to him.

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PREFACE

In sending the present essay of a Pāli Grammar to the press, I feel bound to say a few words of explanation as to the plan I have followed. First of all, I must state that it was not my inention to give a complete Grammar of the Pāli Language, as this can only be done when all the principal books of the Buddhist Canon will have been published; nor was it my intention to write a Comparative Grammar of Indian vernaculars, as for this purpose the space granted to me would have been too small. I only intended to help the students of Buddhistical literature, by collecting the idiomatical peculiarities of the sacred language, comparing it chiefly to Sanskrit, and in a few cases also to the other Indian vernaculars. As the publication of Pāli texts has taken so wide dimensions during the last ten years, I thought it would not be out of place to consider and work out the new materials that have come into our possession through these books, mostly unknown to Childers and the others who made Pāli Grammar an object of their studies. Even E. Kuhn, whose "Beiträge zur Pāli Grammatik" have been of great help to me, and whose plan I followed almost throughout my book, only worked from a comparatively small number of texts, and just the oldest and most interesting, like Vinaya and Jātaka, were all but unknown to him.

It would be rather out of place in an elementary Grammar to enter into a long discussion about the age and origin of the Pāli language. A few words on the subject will be sufficient : Kuhn, following Westergaard, holds Pāli to be the vernacular of Ujjein, the capital of Mālava at the time when Mahinda, the son of Asoka, took the sacred Canon with him to Ceylon (Beiträge, p.7). On the other hand, Oldenberg, rejecting that tradition, considers Pāli to be the original language of the Kālinga country (Vinayapiṭaka, Introduction, p. liv). He compares the language of the large inscription at Khandagiri (Cunningham, Corpus Inscriptionum, i. 98), and finds only very little difference between this and the Pāli. From this he concludes that there must have been, about a hundred and fifty years before Mahinda, a frequent intercourse between Kalinga and the island; in fact, that the

religion, together with its language, was brought over from there to Ceylon. I had myself formed a similar idea, independently from Oldenberg, by a careful examination of the first settlements of the Gangetic tribes in Ceylon (see my Report II. to the Government of Ceylon, reprinted Ind. Ant. IX. 9); and, recently, Mr. Nevill, in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, has pointed out that the ancient civilized and populous district of Ceylon, the so-called Kalāwa, is not to be looked for at the south coast near Galle, as most people believe, but in the north-western district of the island, which is now almost a desert. We therefore all agree that the Aryan immigrants did not come by sea from Bengal, in which case they would have landed somewhere at the east or south coast, but that they crossed over from some port in Southern India; and, under these circumstances, it is not at all unlikely that the point from which they started may have been the kingdom of Kālinga. To the person of Mahinda we need not attach much importance from a chronological point of view, perhaps not more than to the person of Vijaya, the first Gangetic immigrant in Ceylon according to tradition.

About the age of the Pāli language it is even more difficult to form a certain opinion than about its native country. The late R. C. Childers, in the Preface to his Dictionary, p. ix, attributed a very high antiquity to it, with especial reference to an inscription on the Sthūpa of Bharhut, which contains a quotation from Cullavagga, vi.4. This argument, however, is not conclusive, as already P. Goldschmidt pointed out in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1879. It was generally expected that we would get some help from the Ceylon inscriptions for fixing the age of the Pāli language, but unfortunately this expectation has not been fulfilled, as all those inscriptions from which we might derive an argument are not sufficiently dated. Real Pāli inscriptions have not been found in Ceylon—not more than in Cambodia. Those that approach nearest are almost identical in their language with the above mentioned Khandagiri inscription. There is, for instance, the one at Kirinde (No. 57 of my Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon), which, for palæographical reasons, I have assigned to the first or second century A.D., about the time when, according to tradition, the doctrines of Buddhism were first reduced to writing in Pāli. The language of this inscription agrees in many points with Pāli, but it is too short, and the date is too uncertain that I could follow Goldschmidt, who felt inclined to make use of it for fixing the age of the sacred language. Neither can I agree with Kern,

who holds Pāli to be an artificial language altogether. It is certain that some considerable time must have elapsed before the Pāli recension of the Canon was completed, and that through the continguity of congnate vernaculars, like the Māgadhī, a number of word and forms found their way into Pāli which originally did not belong to it : in this way the so-called Māgadhisms, which Kern induces to prove the artificial character of the language, are easily explained. In spite of these, Pāli conserved a certain purity during the whole middle age, and even late texts like the Dāṭhāvaṃsa and Attanagaluvamsa (thirteenth century), although they introduce a large number of compounds after the Saṃscritic fashion are comparatively free from dialectic peculiarities. Not before the time when the second part of the Mahāvaṃsa was composed we find a wholesale import of Sinhalisms into the language, scarcely disguised by Pāli terminations, as, *e.g.*, mahālāno, 'Chief Secretary,' translated back from the Sinhalese mahalaenan.

I have only occasionally attempted in this book to distinguish between the different periods of the language. When the student will have overcome the first difficultities, he will find all the necessary information on this subject in Fausböll's Introduction to "Ten Jātakas" and Trenckner's "Pāli Miscellany." I may say here so much, that on the whole the forms of the Sinhalese MSS. are older and more genuine, while the Burmese often replace them by more modern, more common, or more regular ones. I reserve for another occasion the interesting task to prove this by comparing a certain number of MSS., especially of grammatical texts

Another part of the Grammar, which is totally wanting in my essay, is the Syntax; but here I hope that the classical languages, with which no doubt nearly all mu readers are acquainted, will fill up the gap. Sanskrit, so to say, has no Syntax at all, but expresses all the relations in a sentence merely by compounds. This way, however, was given up at an early date by the Indian vernaculars, and a form of constrution was introduced which bears a close resemblance to the Syntax of the classical languages. Under these circumstances, I have thought it best, as I had no space to give a complete Syntax to add at the end the Grammar a short Jātaka, with an analysis that might help the student to understand the Pāli construction.

The texts I principally took my examples from are the historical books Dīpavaṁsa and first part of the Mahāvaṁsa, for which I compared the new edition published by Sumangala and Baṭuwantudāwa in 1880;

besides the Vinaya, the three published volumes of the Jātaka, the Milindapanha, and the first year's publications of the Pāli Text Society, including Anguttara Nikāya, Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka. I availed myself of the opportunity to mention some particularly interesting forms Thera- and Therīgāthā and Khuddasikkhā. Of Fausböll's Sutta Nipāta I could use for the Grammar only the stanzas given in the foot-notes of his transalation ("Sacred Books," vol. xiii). The edition of the text came into my hands when I had very nearly done.

E. Müller

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations are the same as in Childers' Dictionary, and besides the following new ones :

Ang.	=	Anguttara Nikāya ed. Morris.
Ass. S.	=	Asslāyanasutta ed. Pischel.
Beitr.	=	Beiträge zur vergleichenden sprachforshung herausgeg. von Bezzenberger.
Bv.	=	Buddhavaṃsa ed. Morris.
C.	=	Cullavagga ed. Oldenberg.
Cariy.	=	Cariyāpiṭaka ed. Morris.
Dāṭh.	=	Dāṭhāvaṃsa ed. Cumāra Swāmi.
Dhm.	=	Dhātumañjūsā ed. Baṭuwantudāwe.
Dīp.	=	Dīpavaṃsa ed. Oldenberg.
Gr.	=	Sept Suttas Pālis ed. Grimblot.
Hem.	=	Hemacandra ed. Pischel.
It.	=	Itivuttaka.
I.O.C.	=	India Office Catalogue.
K.Z.	=	Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.
M.	=	Mahāvagga ed. Oldenberg.
M. N.	=	Majjhima Nikāya.
Naigh.	=	Naighaṇṭuka.
P.M.	=	Pāli Miscellany, by Trenckner.

Pāiyal.	=	Pāiyalacchī ed. Buhler.
Rūp.	=	Das sechste Kapitel der Rūpasiddhi herausgegeben von Grùwedel.
Saddammop.	=	Saddhammopāyana ed. Batuwantudāwe.
S.N.	=	Sutta Nipāta ed. Fausboll.
Samanta Pās. or S.P.	=	Introduction to the Samanta Pāsādikā in the third vol. of Oldenberg's Vinaya
Suttavibh.	=	Suttavibhanga ed. Oldenberg.
Vinaya Texts	=	Vols. xiii. and xvii. of Max Müller's Sacred Books.

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PĀLI GRAMMAR

1. The Alphabet

There are three Alphabets in which Pāli manuscripts are written—the Sinhalese, the Burmese and the Kambodian. They all are derived from the Açoka Alphabet used in the ancient inscriptions of India, but represent a more current and an easier style of written. The Devanāgarī Alphabet, which was used by Spiegel in editing his Anecdota Pālica, is never found in Pāli manuscripts. We shall, however, for the convenience of those who have studies Sanskrit, in the following table give the Devanāgarī letters corresponding to the Sinhalese characters. Since Fausböll's edition of the Dhammapada, published in 1855, nearly all editiors of Pāli books in Europe have made use of the Roman character, as being easier to learn and less tiring to the eye. Unfortunately, a uniform way of transcription has not yet been arrived at in Pāli, any more than in Sanskrit; but the method followed by Fausböll and Childers is now almost generally adopted, and shall also be used in this book.

I. VOWELS

a = अ. ā = आ. i = इ. ī = ई. u = उ. ū = ऊ. e = ए. o = ओ.

II. CONSONANTS

1. *Gutturals*—	k = क.	kh = ख	g = ग.	gh = घ.	
	ṅ = ङ.				
2. *Palatals*—	c = च.	ch = छ.	j = ज.	jh = झ.	
	ñ = ञ.				
3. *Cerebrals*—	ṭ = ट.	ṭh = ठ.	ḍ = ड.	ḍh = ढ.	
	ṇ = ण.				
4. *Dentals*—	t = त.	th = थ.	d = द.	dh = ध.	n = न.
5. *Labials*—	p = प.	ph = फ.	b = ब.	bh = भ.	
	m = म.				
6. *Liquids*—	y = य.	r = र.	l = ल.	v = व.	
7. *Sibilants*—	s = स.	h = ह.	ḷ = ळ *(Vedic)*.		

Besides, there is the niggahīta, corresponding to the Sanskrit anusvāra, and marked by a small circle in the middle of the line. It is always used at the end of words, and in the middle before a sibilant. Before another consonant the nasal of the corresponding class may be used instead.

2. Pronunciation

The Pronunciation is, on the whole, the same as in Sanskrit. The vowels *a, i, u* are short, the others are long : *e* and *o* are only long when they stand in an open syllable, *viz.*, before a single consonant. When they stand before two consonants they are pronounced short, but are long *metri causā.*

The aspirates are pronounced like the corresponding surds with the additions of an *h*. Therefore, *th* does not correspond to the English *th*, but rather to the German in *Thun, That. Ch* has the same pronunciation as the simple *c* = Enlgish *ch* in child.

It is very difficult for a European to pronounce the cerebrals or linguals correctly. In India and Ceylon the natives almost constantly express our dentals by their cerebrals in words taken over from our language. It seems, therefore, that our dentals agree more with their linguals in prounciation than with their dentals. I have, however, not been able to mark in the spoken language any difference between the pronunciation of the dentals and of the cerebrals.

The nasals are pronounced according to the class to which they belong. The guttural nasal never occurs alone, but is always followed by an explosive of its class; it sounds like English *ng* or *nk* respectively. The palatal nasal sometimes occurs doubled when an assimilation has taken place *(ññ)*, and then it has the sound of the Spanish *ñ* in *doña*, or of the French *gn* in campagne. The dental nasal is exactly pronounced like *n*, and the labial like *m*.

The niggahīta, or nasal breathing at the end of the word, is pronounced in Ceylon almost with the same force as a guttural nasal = English *ng* in king. Before other consonants it is only a representative of the nasal of the corresponding class, and is pronounced accordingly.

Compound consonants are almost regularly assimilated in Pāli. We therefore do not require a table of the combinations of consonants similar to that which exists in the Devanāgarī Alphabet. The rules according to which the assimilation takes place will be given in a

special chapter, and the few groups of compound consonants that still exist in Pāli will be added as an appendix to the Table of Alphabets.

The pronunciation is the same as that of the single consonants.

3. Vowels

The vowels found in Pāli are the same as in Sanskrit, with the exception of the *ṛ* and *ḷ* vowels, and the diphtohongs *ai* and *au*.

The *ṛ* vowel is mostly represented in Pāli by one of the other vowels :

(1) By *a* in *accha* = *ṛkṣha, vijambhati=vijṛmbhati,* Jāt. i. 12; *tasita*=tṛshita, Dāṭh. iii. 44; *maṭṭha* and *maṭṭa* = mṛshṭa, *gaha* = gṛha, *maccu* = mṛtyu.

(2) By *i* in *iṇa* = ṛṇa, 'debt;' *kisa* = kṛça, 'lean;' *giddha* = gṛdhra, 'greedy;' *miga* = mṛga, 'deer;' *bhisī* = bṛsī, 'mat;' *sigāla* = çṛgāla, 'jackal.'

(3) By *u* in *usabha* = ṛshabha, 'bull;' *puthu* = pṛthu, 'broad;' *pucchati* = pṛcchati, 'to ask;' *vuṭṭhi* = vṛshṭi, 'rain.'

(4) By the consonant *r* accompanied by the vowels *i* or *u*, in *ritvija* = ṛvij, 'brahninical priest;' *rite* = ṛte, Kacc. 126; *iru* = ṛc in *irubbeda* = ṛgveda, *rukkha* = vṛksha, *brūheti* = bṛṃhayati; the latter root takes also sometimes the vowel *a*, as in *abbahati,* Dh. 96, and in the participle *brahā*.

(5) By *e* in *geha,* which is already found in Sanskrit.

The diphthongs *ai* and *au* of the Sanskrit become *e* and *o* in Pāli, that is to say, they are reduced from the second degree of vowel strengthening called vṛddhi in Sanskrit to the first called guṇa; this process is called vṛddhi by the Pāli grammarians. Examples are *Gotama* = Gautama, *Koṇdañña* = Kauṇḍinya, *Erāvaṇa* = Airāvana, *dvelhaka* = dvaidhaka, *mettī* = maitrī.

The diphthongs may, however, be further reduced to the simple vowels *i* and *u,* in the same way as it is done with the original *e* and *o*. We have *mitti* = maitrī, Jāt. i.468; *issariya* = aiçvarya, *ussukka* = autsukya, Dh. 268.

The rules laid down by the grammarians concerning the use of the vuḍḍhi and of the simple vowel are very lax. Kacc., p. 214, prescribes the vuḍḍhi before a single consonant, but at p. 219 he allows the forms with the simple vowel as well, *e.g., abhidhammika, vinateyya, uḷumpika.*

There are also two instances where an *u* derived from an *r*-vowel (see above, no. 3) becomes *o* by vuḍḍhi, viz., *pothujjanika,* 'belonging to an unconverted person,' derived from *puthujjana* = pṛthagjana and *modangika,* 'one who beats the drum', derived from *mutiṅga* = mṛdanga

4. Change of Vowels

A short *a* of the Sanskrit is subject of different changes in Pāli. It may become :

(1) *e* in *etta* = atra, 'there,' according to Childers, and S. Goldschmidt's Prākritica, pp. 21-23. Kaccāyana, p. 110, derives it from *etatha* by shortening of the syllable *eta* into *e;* but Hemacandra, i. 57, has the right explanation. Similar forms are *ubhayettha* = ubhayatra, 'on both sides,' given in the commentary, Dhp. p. 96, while the text at v. 15 has *ubhayattha, heṭṭhā* and *heṭṭhato,* 'below' = adhastāt; *pure,* 'before,' with its compositions *puresamana,* 'the companion who precedes a bhikkhu;' *purebhattaṃ,* 'the companion who precedes a bhikkhu;' *puresamana,* 'the morning meal;' *puretaram,* Dh.84, 135; antar in *antepura* = antaḥpura, 'harem' (*antopuraṃ,* Dh., 162, 291); *antovatthumhi,* Mah. 253; *antaravatthumhi,* Jāt. i. 232; *antorukkhatā,* Jāt. i. 7; *pheggu* = phalgu, 'empty.' In *seyyā* = çayyā, 'couch,' the change of *a* to *e* is effected by the following *y,* and the same has taken place in *peyyāla* = pariyāya, if the derivation given by Oldenberg, K.Z. xxv. p. 315, and Trenckner, Pāli Miscellany, p.66, is correct.

(2) *a* becomes *i* in *tipu* = trapu, 'lead,' *kaḷimbhaka* = kaḍamba, 'point,' C. v. ii. 3; *pilāla* = palāla, 'straw,' Jāt. i. 382; *timisa* = tamasa, 'darkness,' Mil. 283, and *timissā* = tamisrā, Jāt. iii. 433; *nilicchita* = nirashṭa according to Treanckner, Pāli, Misc. p. 55. A great many more examples might be adduced for this change, which is a very frequent one in Pāli.

(3) *a* becomes *u* principally through the influence of a labial, that may stand either before or after the vowel, or even at some distance from it. Examples are *sammuñjanī* and *sammujjanī.* Jāt i. 161 = sammārjanī, 'a broom;' *nibbusitattā* = nirvasitātmā, Grimblot, Sept suttas Pālis, 23; *nimujjati* = nimajj, 'to sink;' *puthujja* = pṛthagja, 'common,' Fausbòll, Sutta Nipāta 171, *paṇṇuvīsati* = *pañcavīsati,* 'twenty-five,' Jāt. iii. 138. There are, however, also examples of this change where there is no labial contact, *e.g. thunanti,* 'they sound,' from stan (the participle *mitthanamāna* occurs at Jāt. i. 463, and

niṭṭhananta Jāt. ii. 362); *bhrūnahu* = bhrūnahan, 'killing the embryo,' Fausb., S. N. 122; *ajjuka* = arjaka, 'the white parṇāsa;' *āgu* = āgas, 'sin;' *pajjuṇṇa* = parjanya, 'cloud;' *sajju* = sadyas, 'instantly;' *sajjulasa* = sarjarasa, 'resin,' M. vi. 7. In *usūyā* = asūyā, 'envy,' and in *kuñuṭṭha* = kankushṭa, 'a sort of earth,' the change is due to the assimilation of the vowels.

(4) *a* becomes *o* in *sammosa* = sammarsha, 'confusion,' Gr. 25, Mil. 266, *anto* = antar, 'inside,' and its compositions, *tirokkha* = tiraska, 'absent,' Suttavibh. i. 185.

Sanskrit *ā* is subject to the following changes :

(1) It becomes *e* in *pārevata* = pārāpata, 'pigeon' (pārāpata occurs at Jāt. i. 242); *mettika* = mātṛka, Cariy. i.9, 11; *khepeti* = kshapayati, from kshap, the causative of kshi according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc., p. 76, and Senart, Mahāvastu, p. 492; *theto* = sthātṛ, Brahmajālasutta, p. 5; *seḷeti* = çāḍayati, 'to fall off,' Buddhavaṃsa i. 36 (*unseḷheti,* C. i. 13, 2 = suttavibh. i. 180, is a compound of this, and has nothing to do with *ussoḷhi,* as the translators of the passage world make out, Vinaya Texts, ii. 349). The change is effected by a *y* standing before or after the vowel in *ācera* = ācārya, 'teacher,' Khuddasikkhā xv., comp. Hem. i. 73; *pāṭihera* (or *pāṭihīra*) = prātihārya, 'a miracle;' *nibbedheti* = nirvyādhayati, 'to transpierce,' Mah. 143.

(2) It becomes *o* in *tumo* = tmanā, 'self,' C. vii. 2, 3, Oldenberg K.Z. xxv. 319; *parovara* = parāvara, from para + avara, 'perfect,' Fausb., S.N. 59, 193; *doso* = doshā, 'at night;' *dhovati* = dhāv, 'to wash.'

(3) It becomes *ū* in some compositions with the root *gā*, 'to go,' like *addhagū*, 'a traveller;' *pāragū*, 'one who has crossed to the other side,' probably through an intermediate *o* (see no. 2), as we have *atigo,* Dhp. v.370; *pārago,* Mah. 60, 250; *vivarantagū,* Jāt. ii. 208. The same change taken place in compositions with *jñā,* 'to know;' as, *viññū,* 'clever;' *sabbaññū*, 'omniscient;' *vadaññū* = vadanya, 'bountiful,' is clearly constructed after the false analogy of these forms, but has nothing to do with *jñā. Tadaññu,* Saddhammopāyana, v. 177, is composed with *jñā*, and is different from *tadañña* = tad + anya, occurring at v. 149 of the same poem.

Sanskrit *i* is subject to the following changes :

(1) It becomes *a* in *kākaṇikā* = kākiṇikā, 'a small coin;' *paṭhavī* = pṛthivī, 'the earth;' *pokkharaṇī* = pushkariṇī, 'lotus tank;' *gharaṃ*

= gṛhiṇī, 'wife,' M. viii. 1, 12; *paṭaṅga* = phaḍiṅga, 'a flying insect,' Dh. 412, Mil. 272; *sākhalya,* 'friendship,' Chılders s. v. *sakhilo,* and some futures like *icchasaṃ, pamādassam,* mentioned by Trenckner, Pāli Misc., p. 75. A doubtful form ıs *ānañja,* Jāt. ı. 415, ii. 325; Suttavibh. i. 4; Sāmañññaphalasutta ed. Grimblot, p. 143. A various reading is *ānañca,* which is found besıdes in Mahāparinibbānas., p. 34, and Burnouf, Lotus, pp. 306, 467, 866; but Buddhaghosa, at Suttavibh. i. 267, explains ıt by *ānejjappatte, acale, niccale* and if this is correct it can have nothing to do with Sanskrit ānantya, but must be derived from the Pāli root *iñj* = Sanskrıt *iṅg*, 'to move.' Comp. Childers, s.v. *āneJJaṃ*, and p. 454, and Senart, Mahāvastu, p. 399.

(2) It becomes *e* in *etta,* 'so much' = Skt. iyant, Senart, Mahāvastu, p. 384 (but not *etto,* 'hence,' which is derived from *etta* = eta, Goldschmidt, Prācritica, pp. 21-23); *vihesā* = vihiṃsā, 'vexation,' and the verb *viheseti,* 'to annoy,' Jāt iii. 295; *vehāgamana* = vıhāgamana, 'coming through the air.' Mah. 157; *vematika* = vimatika, 'ınconsistent;' *vemajjha* = vimadhya, 'the middle;' *Vessabhū* = Viçvabhū, 'a name of Buddha;' *mañjeṭṭha* = mañjishṭha, 'light red;' *keraṭika,* Jāt. i. 461, and *kerāṭiya,* Jāt. iii. 260 = kirāṭa, 'hypocrite', (comp. Indian Antiquary, vi. 40); *esikā*=kināṭa, 'pillar' (but *īsikā,* Sāmañññaph. S. ed. Gr., p. 144), Brahmaj. S 18, neuter pl. *esikāni,* Jāt. ıı. 95; *terovassika,* 'more than a year old' = Skt. tirovarshika like Vedic tiro ahnya, Morrıs' Report on Pāli Literature. p. 6; *dvebhāga, dvebhāva, dvebhūmaka*= dvibhāga, divibhāva, dvibhūmaka; *pettāpiya* = pitṛvya, Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 62; *mātāpettibhara,* 'supporting one's parents,' = mātṛ + pitṛbhara, *tekiccha,* 'curable,' from cikitsā, *eṭṭhi* = ishṭi, 'wish,' Khuddasikkhā. A dıfficult form is the adverb *seyyathā,* 'just as,' in a comparison, which is explained in different way by the grammarians. Trenckner, Pāli Misc. p.75, explains it as a Magadhizing form, corres-ponding to the Skt. tadyathā, and he is followed by Senart, Mahāvastu p. 415, who adduces the corresponding form of the northern Buddhists sayyathidam, already mentioned by Léon Feer, Etudes Boudhiques, p. 313. I believe this explanation preferable to that of E. Kuhn, who considers it as a potential ātmanepadam of the root *as* 'to be.' A form *seyathā* occurs in the inscription of Bhabra, Cunningham, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, p. lll. A similar change of *a* to *e* is in *yebhuyya* = yad + bhūyas, Instr. *yebhuyena,* 'generally,' 'mostly.' The corresponding from of the northern Buddhists is yobhūyena, Senart, Mahāvastu 422.

(3) It becomes *u* in *kukkusa* = kiknasa, C. x. 27, 4, *kukku* = kishku, 'measure of length,' M. vii. 1, 5; *nicchubhīyati* = kshiv, 'to spit out,' Mil. 188; also written *nichubhati,* Cariyāp. ix. 23, Bv. xi. 15, Jāt. iii. 512, 513; participle, *nicchuddha,* Mil. 130, Dh. 8, 202; *rājula* = rājila, 'a lizard;' *geruka* = gairika, 'red chalk,' M. i. 25, 15.

(4) It becomes *o* in *onojeti,* 'to dedicate,' M. i. 22, 18 = avanejayati according to Kern, Buddhism, p. 92.

Sanskrit *ī* is subject to the following changes :

(1) It becomes *a* in *kosajja,* 'idleness' = kausīdya; *bhasma* = bhīshma, 'dreadful,' C. vii. 4, 8 (another form *bhesma* occurs Ab. 167, and *bhisma* in the Mahāsamaya ap. Grimblot, p. 288).

(2) It becomes *ā* in *tiracchāna* = tiraçcīna, 'an animal.'

(3) It becomes *e* in *khela* = krīḍā, 'play,' Dāṣh. i. 41, Pischel Beitr. iii. 254; *kelāyatha,* Mil. 73, *āvelā* = āpīḍa, 'a garland;' Prāk. *āmela,* Hem. i. 105; *ereti,* 'to utter,' Dh. v. 134; according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. p. 76 = *ireti. E* for *ī* is found frequently in derivative syllables, as in the abolutive *gahetvā* for gṛhīvā, in *ājāneyya* for *ājānīya,* and similar forms given by Kacc. p. 196. There is a present *seyyasi* = çīryasi, from çar, 'to throw down,' occurring only in this form Jāt. i. 174, Dh. 147. The commentary explains it by *visiṇṇaphalo hoti.* Çrī becomes *se* in the names of two plants, *sepaṇṇī* = çrīparṇī and *sephālikā* = çrīphālikā.

(4) It becomes *u* in the root *ṭhubh* = shṭhīv, 'to spit;' also written *ṭhuh,* as in *niṭṭhuhati,* S. i. 132; nuṭṭhuhati, C. vi. 20, 2, M. viii. 1, 11. The form *niṭṭhu* occurs also in Prākṛt, Deçīnāmmālā, iv, 41.

Sanskrit *u* is subject to the following changes :—

(1) It becomes *a* in *sakkhali* = çashkuli, Jāt. ii. 281, Suttavibh.i.55; *ayaru* and *agalu* = aguru, 'Agallochum;' *dudrabhi* = doundubhi, 'drum,' M. i. 6, 8; *vākarā* or *vākara,* Jāt, iii. 541 = vāgurā, 'net;' *phallati* = phull, 'to bear furit,' and *pharati* = sphur, 'to flash.' *Bāhusacca* is derived by Childers from bāhuçrutya, by Fausböl from bāhusmārtya; the analogy of *muṭṭhasacca,* however, adduced by Childers, points to the latter etymology. *Rathesabha,* 'king,' is according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. p. 59 = ratheçubh; according to Senart, Mahāvastu, p. 429 = ratha + ṛshabha.

(2) It becomes *i* in *dindima* = dundubhi, 'drum,' Dīp. 96; *khipati* = kshu, 'to sneeze,' *muditā* = mudutā, Senart, Mahāvastu 629. The

identity of *sippī* and çuktī, 'pearl oyster,' assumed by Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 60-75, remains doubtful.

(3) It becomes *o* chiefly before a double consonant, as in *okkā* = ulkā, 'torch,' Jāt. i. 34; *pottha* = pusta, 'a modelled figure,' Jāt. ii. 432, and its derivative, *pothalikā,* or *potthanikā,* M. vi. 23, 3, C. vii. 3, 4; Prāk. *puttalitā* or *potthanikā,* M.V. 23, 3, C. vii. 3, 4,; Prāk. *puttaliā,* Pāïyalacchī 117; *vokkamati* = vyutkramati (comp. Pischel's remarks to Hem. i. 116); *pāmokkha* = pramukhya (*pāmukhha,* Jāt. i. 371). There are, however, also instances of the change before a single consonant, as *kolañña* = kulaja, 'of good family,' Mil. 256 (for the termination comp. *aggañña* and Senart's remarks Mahāvastu, p. 617); *koliya,* Jāt, iii. 22, and *kolīniya,* Jāt. ii. 348 (if the reading *koleyya* is not to be preferred, *kulīna* occurs at Mah. 245); and *kolaputti,* which is not to be considered as a *vuḍḍhi* with Trenckner, Pāli Misc. p. 64. Pāli *koṭi* represents to Skt. kuṭi as well as koṭi, Lotus 432; *anopama,* Jāt. i. 89; Mahāvastu 511 is = *anupama,* Mah. 240.

Sanskrit *ū* is subject to the following changes :

(1) It becomes *ā* in *masāraka* = masūraka, 'a sort of bed,' C. vi. 2, 3. *Bhākuṭi,* Suttavibh. i. 181 = bhrūkuṭi, 'eye-brow,' most probably goes back to the Skt. bhrakuṭi or bhṛkuṭi. The common Pāli word *bhamu* is not, as Childres explained it, a careless pronunciation of bhrū, but an abbreviation of *bhamuka* or *bhamuha* = bhrūmukha, as is shown by the Prāk. bhamayā, Hem. ii. 167. The Sinhalese baema also goes back to this form.

(2) It becomes *ī* or *i* in *bhīyo, bhiyyo* = bhūyas, and in *niyura* = nūpura, 'bracelet,' which, however, might stand for *nidhura.*

(3) It becomes *o* in *oja* = ūrjas, 'strenght,' Jāt. i. 68, Dh. 132; *onavīsativasso* = ūnav°, 'less than twenty years old.'

Sanskrit *e* is subject to the following changes :

(1) It becomes *a* in *milakkha* = mlecca (comp. K.Z. xxv. 327), and in some verbal forms like *akaramhasa,* Dh. p. 147.

(2) It becomes *ā* in *kāyūra* = keyūra, 'bracelet,' C. v. 2, 1, Jāt. iii. 437.

(3) It becomes *i* before double consonants, as in *pasibbaka* = prasevaka, 'bag'; *paṭivissaka* = prativeçaka, 'neighbouring;' *ubbilla* = udvela in *ubbillabhāva,* 'lengthiness,' Saddammopāyana 136; but also before single ones, as *abhijīhana* from jeh, Jāt. 546, v. 49, according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 78; *apavīṇati,* Jāt. 409, v. 4, from *veṇ; pahiṇaka* and paheṇaka, 'offering,' Prāk. paheṇaya, Pāïyal. 206.

(4) It becomes *o* in *maṅkato* = matkṣite, Mil. 384; and in *atippago* = atiprage, 'too early,' corresponding to atiprāgaḥ of the northern Buddhists, Mahāvastu 418.

Sanskrit *o* is subject to the following changes :

It becomes *u* before a double consonant, and *ū* before a single, as in *juṇhā* = jyotsnā, 'a moon-lit night;' *tutta* = tottra, 'a pike used to guide an elephant,' Carity. iii. 5, 2; *tadūpiya,* 'suitable, corresponding,' which is not = *tadrūpya,* as Childres suggested. Trenckner. Pāli Misc. p. 77, identifies it with Skt. tadopya, which is drived from the root vap in composition with *ā,* and ascribes the change of *o* to *ū* to the following *i;* but Senart, Inscriptions de Piyadasi i. 188, and Mahāvastu 493, takes it as a compound of tad + opaya. *Vīsūka* = viçoka, 'spectacle;' *dūbha* = droha, 'deceiving,' Mah. 49; *khajjūpanaka,* Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 59, for *khajjopanaka* = khadyota, 'the fire-fly;' *ārūgya* = ārogya, 'good health,' M.N. 66. Also an *o* contracted from ava is subject to this change, as in *ussāva* = avaçyāya, 'dew;' *ujjhā* = avadhyā, 'to blame;' and *uḍḍeti* = *oḍḍeti* = ava + dī, according to Morris, Anguttaranikāya i. 24. 4. Comp. the remarks of Fausböll. Two Jātakas 13, the verb *niḍḍāyati,* Jāt. i. 215, *niḍḍāpeti,* C, vii. 1, 2, identified by Oldenberg with nirdātā, Manu vii. 110. An example of an *o* changed to *u* before a single consonant is *ukkusa*=utkroça, 'the osprey,' only written *ukkūsa* at Jāt. 486, v. 2, where the *ū* is required by the metre.

5. Change of Quantity

Long vowels before a double consonant are generally shortened. The reason is given by Kacc. vii. 5, 13-14, where he says that a short vowel before a double consonant as a long vowel is called *garu.* This rule, however, is not always followed by the manuscripts, where we often find a long vowel before a double consonant, specially when the long vowel is the result of a contraction. Fausböll, in the preface to his edition of the Dhammapada, p. vii., was the first to call attention to this inconsistency of the manuscripts, and afterwards Senart, Kacc. pp. 4, 5, has discussed it at some length. The principles established by him have been followed on the whole by the recent editors of Pāli texts, as far as the groups with assimilated consonants are concerned; and also Childers, in his Pāli Dictionary, has adopted them with a few exceptions, so he writes *ājjavaṃ* instead of *ājavaṃ,* Kacc. 216=Skt. ārjava, *dābbī* =Skt. dārvī, *dātta* = dātra, following Abhidbānappadīpikā. Kuhn, in his Pāli Grammar, p. 18, condemns this way of writing, and allows the

long vowel only in those instances in which a contraction has taken place, as in nāgghati = na+agghati, piyāppiya = piya + appiya. The Sinhalese editions generally follow the method of the manuscripts.

Before a nasal we generally find the law observed, as *santa, danta, vanta* = çānta, dānta, vānta, Kacc. 295, but the editors of the second part of the Mahāvaṃsa write *lāñganakicca,* Mah. 39, 28. Before other groups of consonants the editions are less consistent : we have *ativākya,* Ab. 122, Dh. 57; *sakya, sakka, sakiya* = çākya, Mah. 9, 55, Abh. 5, 336; *ākhyāta* and *akkhāta,* Kacc. 5, 220; *pahatvāna = pahātrā,* 'having left behind,' Dh. v. 243, 415; *dussīlya,* Dh. v. 162 = dauḥçīlya, 'wickedness;' *balya,* 'childhood,' Dh. v. 63, but *bālya,* Ab. 250, 1079; *ñatvā* and *bhitvā*, from jñā and bhī, Kacc. 303, Dh. 85, 379; *kamyatā* = kāmyatā, 'desire;' *bahya* = bāhya, 'external.'

Another possibility of avoiding the contanct of a long vowel with a doube consonant is to put the single consonant of the group resulting by assimilation, as in *ājava* = ārjava, Kacc. 216, Ten Jāt. 98; *kāsu* = karshū, 'hole,' *ūmi* = ūrmi, 'wave,' Ab. 662; but *ummi,* Mil. 346; *bhāṇaka* = bhāṇḍaka, 'jar,' Suttavibh. 90, Ascoli Kritische Studien, p. 211; *bhūja* = bhūrja, 'the birch;' *adāsi* = ahārshīt, 'he took.' The same process may take place after a short vowel, which then is lengthened, as in *sājīva* for *sajjīva* = sad + jīva, 'rule of conduct,' Pāt. 65, comp. Senart, Mahāvastu 481; *vūpakāsati* = vyupakarsh, 'to make clear,' M. i. 25, 20, Pāt. 109; *svātana* = çvastana, 'belonging to tomorrow,' Dh. 231; *vāka* = valka, 'bark of a tree;' *saṅkāpayati* = saṅkappayati, 'to arrange,' M. iii. 1, 2 (there are, however, two various readings, *saṅkāyati,* C. x. 18, and Anguttaranikāya, p.117, and *sankāmeti,* Suttavibh. i. 50, which render the etymology doubtful). Several compounds with the preposition *ud,* as *ūhadeti* = ud + had, 'to befoul with excrement;' *ūhata* = ud + hata, 'destroyed,' Dh. 375, Mahāvastu, 379, 566; *ūhasana,* from *ud* + *has,* 'laughter,' Mil. 127. *Uhanati,* M. i. 49, 4, Suttavibh. ii. 40, seems to be synonymous with *ūhadati,* mentioned before; and I believe the translation given by Davids and Oldenberg, 'threw their bedding out,' not to be crrect. The passive *ūhaññi* is found M. i. 25, 15, the past participle *ūhata,*c. viii. 10, 3; and another compound of the same root, *ohaneti,* occurs in the same signification Cariy. ii. 5, 4, where it is in parallel to *uccūra-passāvaṃ katvā,* Jāt.ii. 385.

The opposite way is to shorten the vowel before a double consonant, as in the instances given above, and this can also be done

where a single consonant follows a long vowel. Frequent instances occur in the genitive plural of stems ending in *u* or *as;* as *bahunnaṃ*= bahūnām, Dhp. 81, *pitunnaṃ*=pitṛṇām ; and of numerals, as *tiṇṇaṃ, pañcannaṃ.* But there are also a number of other words belonging to this category; as *bhummi*=bhūmi, 'earth,' C. xii. 2, 5; *mattisambhava*= mātṛs°, Dh.v. 396; *māiumattika*= mātṛimātṛika, Suttavibh. i. 16; *uṇhissa*=ushṇīsha, 'dıadem,' Bv. p.68, note; *vanibbaka*=vanīpaka (which is found Cariy. i. 4, 5), 'beggar,' with change of *p* to *bb; niḍḍha*=nīda 'nest,' from ni + sad, (comp. Hem. i. 106, Weber Indische Streifen ii. 141, Ascoli 284); *sutta* = syūta, 'sewn'; *daṭṭha* = daṭhā, 'jaw,' Mil.150; *abbahati* = ā+bṛh, 'to take down,' and its causative *abbāheti,* 'to pluck,' M. vi. 20, 2, C. vii. 4,5; *jaṇṇu* = jānu, 'knee,' Mahāparinibb. 69; *avassyiṃ* for *avāsyiṃ* (comm. *vāsaṃ kappesiṃ),* 'I lived,' Jāt. ii. 80. Syllables ending with *y* are especially often treated in this way; as *abhibhuyya* = abhibhūya, Dh. v. 328; *bhiyyo* = *bhīyo* for bhūyas, mentioned above; *jiyyati*= jīyati, 'to decay,' Dh. 179, and the suffix *iyya* =īya.

The same transformations we have hitherto mentioned can also take place in syllables which conmtain an *e* or an *o,* with the only difference that these diphthongs always remain as they are; they are considered long before a single consonant and short before a group, as stated by the grammarian Moggllāna (Alwis, Introduction, p. xvii. note, Catal. 41, 184). Generally, however, the syllable conforms to the condition, according with the etymology of a word. The following are exceptions, where the simple consonant stands for the double : *veṭheti* = veshṭayati, 'to surround'; *sekha* = çaiksha, 'a disciple;' *apekhā* and *apekkhā* 'desire,'=apekshā, *upekhā,* and *upekkhā,* 'equanimity;' *vimokha* = vimoksha, 'release.' *Y* is always doubled after *e,* as in *seyyo* = çreyas, 'better;' *maccudheyya* = mṛtyudheya, 'death :' the only exception is *keyūra* 'bracelet,' Ab. 287, which generally becomes *kāyūra* (see above). *V* after *o* is only doubled in *yobbana*=yauvana, 'youth.' After the prefix *o,*contracted from ava, a double consonant formed by assimilation aways remains, as in *abbocchinna*=avyavacchnna, 'unbroken,' Mil. 72; *okkhitta*=avakshipta, 'cast down,' Pāt. 20, 21; and even a simple consonant is often doubled, as in *ossajjati*=avssṛj 'to give up;' *ossakkamāna*=avasarpamāna, 'scattered,' Jāt. i. I39; *abbhokkiraṇa* =abhyavakiraṇa, 'covering,' with change of *o* to *u, abbhukkirati.* Jāt. ii. 311.

The cases of change fo quantity are by no means yet exhausted by the rules and examples given above. We have numerous instances where the change is due entirely to the metre, and others again where

no reason is visible We will try in the sequel to keep separate as much as possible these two cases, and mention those instances which are supported by the Prākrt dialects.

The roots terminating in *ā*, as *jñā, dā, sthā,* almost regularly shorten the vowel in composition, and in derived forms, as, *e.g. paññacā*=prajñvant, 'wise,' always written with *ă* except in a passage of the Cūlakammavibhangasutta, quoted by Gogerly, Ev. 31. From sthā we have *paṭṭhăpeti,* 'to bring forward.' The same occurs in *saṃkhata* = saṃkhyāta, Dh. v. 70, where, however, it might also be shortened by a confusion with *saṃkhata* = saṃskṛta. *Ā* in the middle of a root is shortened in *gahati* and *gaheti,* 'to dive,' = gāh, and its compositions *ogahi,* Mah. 152; *ogaha,* Jāt. iii, 289; *vigayhati* and *vigahāpeti.* Suffixes with long vowels are very often shortened, as, *e.g., āgahitd*=āgṛhīta, 'seized,' Dh. 107; *appatita*=apratīta, displeaded; Pāt. 4,5; *sadevika*= sadevīka, 'accompanied by his queen,' Mah. 205; *vipaccanika*= vipratyanīka, 'hostile,' Grimblot 1; *paccanika* Cariy. ii. 8, 4; *ahirika*= ahrīka, 'shameless,' Dh. 44; *sāluka*=çālūka, 'the root of the water-lily,' M. vi. 35, 6. Especially the suffix *iya* is almost regularly shortened, as in *pāniya*=pānīya,'water,' M. i. 26, 4; *sakiya* =svakīya, 'own;' *apādāniya*=upādānīya, 'sensual,' in a passage of the Saṃyuttaka Nikāya quoted by Oldenberg, Buddha 435; *pāṭidesaniya*=pratideçanīya, 'a class of priestly sins requiring confession,' constantly written so in the Pātimokkha and Suttavibhaṅga; *gariya*=garīyas, 'heavier,' Dh. 245, etc. Shortening by svarabhati is very frequent in Pāli as in *bhariyā*= bhāryā, 'wife;' *ācariya* = ācārya, 'teacher;' *suriya*=sūrya, 'sun,' and numerous other examples.

Lengthening of vovels occurs principally, in prepositions, as in *ābhidosika*, 'stale', from *abhidosa,*evening', Suttavibh. i. 15; *pātibhoga*=pratibhoga, 'surety,' comp. Mahāvastu 582; *pāvacana* = pravacana, 'the Holy Scriptures' (the same in the language of the northern Buddhists, Mahāvastu 566); *pàkata*=prakaṭa, 'clear, evident;' *pāheti,* 'to send' = prahi, from the false analogy of the aorist *pāhesi; Pāyāto,* from prayā, 'to depart', Jāt. i. 146 ; Rhys Davids, Buddhist Suttas, p. 241, note. There are, however, some other instances of lengthened vowels besides : *a* privativum is lengthened in *āyasakya,* 'disgraceful,' from a+ yaças, Jāt. ii 33, 514, in *paccāmitt*= pratyamitra, 'enemy.' Other vowels in *ālinda* = alinda, 'terrace;' *ājira,* = ajira, 'court,' Mah. 215; *pāyāsa*= pāyasa, 'rice porridge;' *gāvuta* = gavyūti, 'a measure of length;' *ummāra* = udumbara, 'threshold;' *sabbāvā* = sarvavat, 'entire'; *kharāpiṇḍa,* 'lump of glass,' Dīp. 102. Lengthening

is very frequent also when a word is repeated in composition; as *phalāphala* = phala+phala, 'will fruits, berries;' *divādivassa,* 'at an unusual hour,' Ten Jāt. 16, Ch. Addenda; *khaṇḍākhaṇḍaṃ,* 'in pieces;' *kiccākiccāni,* 'all sorts of duties.'

According to the law given by Kaccāyana, vii. 5, 13, that a short vowel before a double consonant is considered as a long one, we have to treat here also those cases, where a single consonant after a short vowel is doubled, and a double one simplified,because the quantity of the syllable is changed by this process. In these cases it is sometimes very difficult to distinguish what is due to the metre, and what not. A clear instance of metrical change would be *appabodhati,* Dh. v. 143, if Subhūti's opinion is right, that it stands for *apabodhati;* Weber, however, and Max Müller refer it to alpabodhati, 'parvi facere,' and Fausböll to a+ prabodhati. Subhūti's view is supported by *apparājita*= aparājita, 'unconquered,' Cariy. i. 2,2. Other instances are *saparijana,* 'with his attendants,' Cariy.ii 8,2; *kappilāyaṃ,* Cariy. ii. 9, 2; *nikkhani* for nikhani, 'he buried,' Cariy. iii. 14, 4; *abhinivassatha,* 'he lived,' Cariy. i. 10, 3; *upavassatha,* ib. i. 10, 5; *paddhāna,* Bv. xvii. 16; *uttassati*= utatrasati, 'he trembles.' Cariy. iii. 13,4 (participle *uttrassa,* M. x 2. 16) ; *suppatha,* Ab. 193 ; *kummiga* = kumṛga, Mil. 346; *paggharati,* 'to ooze,' Dh. 81; *abhiammayo,* Bv. vi. 3; *paribbasāna* = parivasāna, 'abinding,' Fausböll, S.N. 152. The following are instances from prose texts where the doubling cannot be ascribed to metrical influence. *patikkūla*=pratikūla, 'contrary;' *jātassara*=jātasara, 'a natural pond;' *sakkāya*=svakāya, 'individuality;' *anuddayā*=anudayā, 'compassion', and *anuddayatā,* Sattavibh. i.247; *vibbheda*=vibheda, 'division,' Jāt. i. 212; *ummā*=umā, 'flax,' Mil. 118; *cheppā*=çepa, 'tail,' M.v.9,1; *cikkhalla*=cikhalaya, 'mud,' M. vii. 1, 1; *niggahīta*= nigṛhīta, 'restrained,' *okkassa* = avakṛshya 'having dragged away,' Mahāparinibb. 3 ; *upakkilesa* = upakleça, 'sin;' *upassaṭha*=upasṛshṭa, 'oppressed,' Jāt. i. 61; *vikkhāyitaka* from vi+khād, comp. Kern, Buddhism, 402; *pāṭiekka* = pratyeka, 'individual' (regular form *pacceka); kallahāra*= kahlāra, 'the white water-lily;' *mukkhara*=mukhara, 'noisy,' Minayeff, Pāt. 59; *vissajjeti,* from vi+sṛj, 'to give away,' and *avissajjiya, avissajjika,* C. vi. 15, 2, M. viii. 27, 5 (but *visajja* in a metrical passage Mahāparinibb. 17), and *avissaṭṭhaka,* Jāt.; i.434.

Compared with these instances of doubling a consonant, the instances of the opposite are but few, and they are nearly all to be ascribed to metrical influence. So, we have *dukha* instead of

dukkha=*duḥkha,* 'sorrow,' Dh. v 83, *puṭha* instead of *puṭṭha*=pushta, 'fed,' Dh. v. 218; *kauṇikā*=karṇikā, 'an ear ornament,' Ab. 574. In prose texts I have only found *kaṇikāra*=karṇikāra, 'the tree Pterospernum acerifolium,' Jāt. ii 25 and *bhadanta,* also, written *bhaddanta*=bhadrānta, 'a venerable man, a Buddhist priest.'

6. Nasal Vowels

The anusvāra or *niggahīta* can stand before every consonant, but before and explosive sound it may also migrate into the nasal of the corresponding class. So you may write *kuṃkuma* or *kuṅkuma*, *saṃcarati* or *sañcarati, saṃḍāsa* or *saṇḍāsa taṁdita* or *tandita, kaṃbala* or *kambala*. In the first instance, however, before a guttural it is usual to transcribe the nasal by a simple *n* without any diacritical sign. Before *h* the anusvāra can be changed into the palatal of cerebral nasal, as *pañha*=praçna, 'question,' but *paṇhi*=pṛiçni, 'variegated;' in both instances the origin of the group is the same, *viz.*, from *çn,* but the usage has been fixed in different ways. From *pañha* is derived *apaṇṇaka* for *apaṇhaka*, 'certain,' always spelt with the cerebral goup. *Paripaṇhati* is spelt with the cerebral in Minayeff's Pātimokkha, pp. 17, 92; but in the corresponding passage of the Suttavibh. ii. 141, we have have *paripañhati,* which I consider to be more correct. Prāk. paṇha, Hem. ii. 75. In the same way we have *taṇhā*=tṛshṇā, 'thirst,' *saṇha*=çlakshṇa; but its derivative, spelt *sañhita,* Mah. 104. *Osaṇhati,* at C. v. 2,3, is also spelt with the cerebral, and I believe this to be the correct spelling, as the *ṇ* is already found in Sanskrit. I cannot account for the change of *ñ* to *ṇ* in *apaṇṇattika*= aprajñaptika, 'not existing,' in *āṇā*=ājñā, 'order,' *ānāpeti, āṇāpana,* etc.

Before a *y* the anusvāra can remain, or the whole group can migrate into *ññ,* as *e.g. saṃyoga* or *sañño̧ga*. Before *r, s, v* it is always retained. Before *l* the anusvāra is always assimilated, as in *sallāpa*= saṃlāpa, 'conversation.' Before a vowel it becomes *m* in poetry when a short syllable is required, the nasal vowels being invariably considered as long.

The grammarian Vanaratana, according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 80, remarks that *h* may be joined to any one of the five nasals; for *h* with the guttural nasal I can adduce no example, but for *h* with the dental nasal we have *cinha*=cihna, 'mark,' *pubbanha,* Mil. 17; *majjhanha*=madhyāhna, 'midday,' Ab. 767; *sāyaṇha*=sāyāhna, 'evening', seems to be always spelt with the cerebral.

The nasal vowel is sometimes replaced by a long one, as in sīha=siṃha, 'a lion;' *vīsati*=vιṃsati, 'twenty;' *saṇḍāsa*=samdamça, 'tongs;' *dāṭhā*=daṃshṭrā, 'jaw.' This happens often in the preposition saṃ when it is followed by *r*, as in *sārāga*=saṃrāga, 'passion;' *sārambha*=saṃrambha, 'clamour;' *sārambhī*, 'clamorous,' Jāt. iii. 259; *sārāṇīyo* Mahāpain. 2, is according to Senart's explanation, p. 599=*saṃrañjñīya* for saṃrañjanīya and=sārāyanīta of the northern Buddhists, which etymology is confirmed by the passage Lalitavistara, p. 530, where we read sammodauīḥ saṃrañjanīḥ kathāḥ krtvā, corresponding to the Pāli *sammodanīyaṃ kathaṁ sārānīyaṃ vītisāretvā*, comp. also Vinaya texts, ii. 364. Sārdhaṃ loses its anudvāra in the compound *saddhivihārika*, 'fellow peiest,' and also ιn the simple word in a passage of Buddhaghosa quoted C. 318.

The opposite process is development of an unorganic anusvāra out of an explosive consonant. This process has takan very large dimensions in the Sinhalese down from the 10th or 11th century (see my Contributions to Sinhalese Grammar, pp. 12, 13), but we find the beginning of it already ιn Pāli, and it is not merely the corrupt spelling of the Simhalese writers as Childers believed (see Childers, s.v. nagaraṃ). Moreover, a form nangaram occurs in the Sanskrit of the northern Buddhists, Mahābastu pp.83,440, so that we have no reason to doubt its correctness in Pāli. *Nānga* for nāga, 'snake,' Dh. 102, occurs again in the introduction to the Samanta pāsādikā, and seems to be also a correct form. Other instances are *sanantana*=sanātana, 'perpetual,' which Childers explains as sanaṃ +tana; *piñja* = piccha, 'wing,' (*piccha* occurs at M.v. 2, 3); *mahiṃsa* = mahisha, 'buffalo,' Cariy. ii. 5, 1, and *mahiṃsakamaṇḍala*, 'the Andhra country;' the insertion is especially frequent in syllables which originally contain an *r*; *sammuñjanī* = sammārjanī, 'a broom' (also written *sammujjanī*, Jat, i. 161); *saṃuarī* = çarvarī, 'the night ; *dandha* = dṛḍha, 'slow' according to Thenckner, Pāli Misc. p. 65, and its derivatives *dandhati*, Jāt.i. 345, Feer Etudes Bouddhiques 133, Cariy. viii. 13 (*dantayi* is a mistake); *dandhāyanā*, Mil. 59, 105; *dandhayitattaṃ*, Mil. 115; *maṅkato* =matkṛte, Mil. 384; *maṅkulā* = matkuṇa, 'bug,' Pāt. 91, comp. Skt. maṅkhuna; *añc* = arc, 'to worship' according to Weber (we find, however, *accayissaṃ*, Dāṭh. v. 17, and *accita*, Ab. 750); another *añc* occurs, Jāt. i.417, to explain *udañcanī; sando* = sādra, 'thick, coarse;' *siṅgāla* = çṛgāla, 'jackal'; *vitaṃsā* = vitastā, Mil.114; *nantaka* = naktaka or laktaka, 'dirty cloth,' Jāt. iii. 22, which Tren-ckner, Pāli Misc. 81, believes to be borrowed from an aborigιnal language : the

regular from *laṭṭaka* occurs Dhp. 190. Some participles must be mentioned here of verbs that have *n* in the present, as *randha* = raddha, from *randheti,* 'to destriy,' Mil. 107, Jāt. 537 v. 108, 538, v. 85; *bandha* = baddha, 'bound,' Kacc. 130, M. viii. 12, 1, where Buddhaghosa has *baddhaṃ; pilandha* = pinaddha, from *pilandhati,* 'to rear,' Mil. 337. The aorist *agañchi,* and the future *gañchati* or *gañchīti,* from gacchati, 'to go,' occur according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. pp. 71-74, only in Sinhalese manuscripts, while the Burmese almost constantly write *agacchi;* besides, in the compound *adhigacchati* the aorist does not take the nasal, and in the plural before *-iṃsa, -ittha,-imha,* the form *gañchi* is very rarely used. I believe these forms to have followed the false analogy of *adañchi* from *daṃç,* 'to bite,' Jāt. 441 v. 3, and of *āhañchi,* M. i. 6, 8, *hañchema,* Jāt. ii. 418, from *han,* 'to strike,' which both have the nasal in the root.

We often find a nasal added at the end of a word, as in *sakkaccaṃ*= satkṛtya, 'respectfully;' *kudācanaṃ*=kudā+cana, 'ever;' *aññadatthuṃ*=anyad+astu, 'only, exclusively;' in a passage of the Saṃyuttaka Nikāya, quoted by Trenckner, P.M.67, *tatthañca*=tatra ca, Mah. 5. In two instances we find *n* instead of the *anusvāra : cirann āyati,* Kacc. 26, and *satānan esa dhamma* for *satānaṃ,* Jayaddisa Jātaka. Besides, at the of the first part of compounds, not only in such cases where it is be considered as an accusative, as in *atalamphassa*=atalasparça, 'not touching the bottom;' *sabbañ-jaha,* 'leaving everything;' such instances are *viralañjana*=virala+jana, 'thinly peopled,' Att. 204; *andhantama*= andha+tamas, 'thick darkness;' *attantapa,* 'self-tormenting,' Childers s.v. *puggala; gaṇaṃgana,* 'with many linings,' M.v. 1,30; *rathandhuri*= ratha+dhur, 'the yoke of the carriage,' Saddhammopāyana v. 468; *kabaliṃkāra*=*kabalīkāra* (the writing of the Burmese MSS.) 'material food,' Gr. 43; *jayampatī* 'husband and wife,' most probabling for jāyāpati and also *tudampati,* would go back to the same form if Childers' etymology is right; comp. Kuhn's Lit. Bl., no. 1, art. 2. The contracted form *jampatī* occurs Dāṭh. iv. 25.

7. Vowels Added or Dropped

A vowel in the middle of a word been elided in *agga* for *agra* = agāra, 'house', only used in compounds; *dhītā* = duhitā, 'daughter'; *jaggati* for jāgarati, 'to watch;' and in the termination *mhe* for mahe, of the 1st person pl., ātmanepadam.

A vowel at the beginning is dropped in *laṅkāna*=alaṅkāra, 'ornament, decoration,' Dīp, 47; *numati*=anumati, 'consent,' Dīp. 35;

valañjeti = avalañjeti, 'to use to spend' (the full form occurs Jāt. i. 111, Suttavibh. ii. 266) ; *pināsa,* 'catarrh' = *apināsa,* Skt. pīnasa; *parajjhati* for *aparajj-hati,* from rādh, 'to be injured;' *pavana* = upavana, 'side of a mountain,' according to Subhūti, Jat. 28, and perhaps *vekha* = avekshā, 'care,' Mahāparin. 25, Rhys David's Buddhist Suttas p. 37.

About *pi* for api, *ti* for iti, *va* for iva and ava, we shall speak hereafter in the chapter on Sandhi.

The only instance of a vowel added in the beginning of a word is *itthī* = strī (istrī in the Gāthās of the nothern Buddhists), an evolution which bears the closest similarity to that in the Romance languages, as, *e.g. ispirito* =spiritus.

8. Consonants

(1) *Gutturals*—A Sanskrit guttural is represented by a palatel in *cunda* = kunda, 'turner' Mil. 331; *iñj.* and its compound *sammiñj* were also believed to come under this rule by Fansböll, Dhp.273 and Weber, Ind. Stud. iii. 147, Ind. Strifen i. 131, iii. 397, who identified it with Skt. *iṅg;* other etymologies of there difficult words have been suggested since, of which I will only mention two that of Senart, Mahāvastu p. 418, who believes *sammiñj* to stand for samvriñj, and that of Oldenberg, K.Z. xxv. 324, who derives it from añc. Against Senart there is only this to say, that the root vṛñj occurs in the form *viññ,* Suttavibh. ii. 264, in the from *viñj,* Suttavibh. i. 127 (comp. Trenckner, P.M. 59) ; and Oldenberg leaves the double *m* entirely unexplained. The form samiñjayati occurs also in the Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad, 6, 4, 23; and perhaps after all this may be right etymology (Boehtlingk-Roth. s.v. sam+iṅg).

(2) *Palatals*—A. Skt. palatal is represented by a guttural in *bhisakka*=bhishaj, 'physician' (but *Satabhisajā*=çatabhishaj, Ab. 60); *milakkha*=mleccha for milaska, K.Z. xxv. 327; *pabhaṅguna*= prabhañjana, 'destruction.' Of much greater importance than this is the change of palatals to dentals, very frequent not only in Pāli but throughout the Indian vernaculars. Especially the Sinhalese, down from the 9th century, is fond of this change, of which I have given numerous examples in my Contributions to Sinhalese Grammar, pp. 17, 18. An instance of this change in Skt. is saṃsṛdbhis, from saṃsṛj, T.B. i. 8, 1, 1, Çat. B. v. 4, 5.3. As in Sinhalese throughout, so we find the Pāli already a limited number of instances where *j* passes into *d*, and *c* to *s* seldom into *t* : *digucchati* and *jigucchati*=jugupsati, 'to despise;'

tudampatī compared with *jayampatī* and *jampatī,* Dāth. iv. 25, see Childers s v.; *digacchā* and *jighacchā*=jighatsā, 'hunger,' Pischle Beiter. iii. 249; *pariccadi* from *pariccajati*=parityaj, 'to forsaka.' So *s* for *c* or *ch* in *ussita*=ucchṛta, 'lofty', Dīp. 10, Suttavibh. i. 79 *(ucchita,* Ab. 708), and its compound *samussita* in a passage of Papañca Sūdanī Alwis. Intr. 79; another *samussita*=samuccita, 'accumulated', occurs at Dh. v. 147; *ussaya,* Suttavibh. ii. 224, must mean 'dispute, quarrel,' but I am not sure about its etymology; *ñassati,* various reading, Ang.i.5,5, is explained by Morris as being the present of *ussita*=ucchṛta but I doubt very much the correctness of this identification; *ussa*=ucca, 'distinguished', Fausböll, S.N. 164: *t* for *c* in *tikicchā*=cikitsā, 'medicine;' *uttiṭṭha* for *ucchiṭṭha*=ud+çishṭa, 'left over,' M. i.24, 1, Mil. 213, 214, see also Vinaya texts i. 152; *vitacchikā*=vicarcikā, 'scabies.' In *upacikā,* 'white ant'=Skt. upadīkā, the Pāli seems to have retained the original palatal, while the Skt. has turned it into the dental : see Trenckner, P.M. 62. In *kasiṇa*=kṛtsna, 'entire,' and *dosina* =jyautsna, 'clear, spotless,' I believe the *t* to be dropped first, and then consonants to have been separated by svarabhakti (see above, and Ascoli, Krit. Stud. 249).

(3) *Cerebrals*—As in all Indian vernaculars cerebralization has been carried in Pāli much further than in Sanskrit, although not so far as in Sinhalese and some other Prākṛts. The opposite process, *viz.* change of a Skt. cerebral to a dental in Pāli is very rare : *cetaka*= ceṭaka, 'servant,' Suttavibh. ii. 66, Cariy.ii 4,7; *kottuka*=kroshṭā, 'jackal,' Mil. 23, 118 (kotṭhuka, Jāt. ii. 108); *deṇḍima*=ḍiṇḍima, 'drum,' Jāt. i. 355; *dindima,* Dīp. 86, Bv.i.32, may either be the same or=dundubhi, 'kettle-drum;' *dindibha*=ṭiṭṭibha, 'name of a bird of a bird,' Ab. 643; *kubbāna*=kurvāṇa, 'doing.' In *khānu*=sthāṇu 'the stump of a tree,' I believe the spelling with the dental to be the correct one, as we have it, Dh. 107, Mil. 34, and in *khānuka,* Jāt.i.483; as for *khaṇati,* which Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 58, 59, believes to have influenced *khānu,* it is also spelt with the dental in several instances, and where it is spelt with the cerebral this can be easily accounted for by assuming a confusion with the root, 'kshaṇ.' *Ghāna*=ghrāṇa, 'the nose,' is always spelt with the dental; *goṇa,* 'bullock,' spelt;' *gona,* Jāt. ii. 300, is derived from the root gur, 'to growl; *gonaka* most probably =gauṇika, 'a woollen coverlet,' Gr. 9 M. v. 10.4 (comp. Pischel, Beitr. iii. 236). Besides, we have the dental instead of the cerbral in the terminations of the aorist—*ittho*=ishṭās, —*ittha*=ishṭa.

The Pāli has one sound belonging to the cerebral class which does not exist in classical Sanskrit, but only in the dialect of the Vedas, *viz.* the cerebral *ḷ*, distinguished from the dental by a dot under line. It is very difficult to give exact rules for use of this *ḷ* as the manuscripts are even less consistent in this respect than with regard with regard to the dental and cerebral *n*. Generally speaking, *ḷ* or *ḷh* between two vowels represents *ḍ, ḍh,* but we find it used promiscuously also for the dentals. I have collected a number of instances from Pāli texts which will illustrate the use of these sounds : *ālulati* Pāt. xvi., but *āluḷati* Jāt. i. 25, ii. 9, *ālolāpeti,* Alw. i. *bubbula*=budbuda, 'a bubble,' Jāt. i.68, *bubbulaka,* Samanta Pāsād. 336, but *bubbula,* Mah. 175, 213, Att. 10, 190, *bubbuḷaka,* Dh. 31, 336; *palāsa,* 'leaf,' Dh. 42, but *paḷāsa,* 'pride,' Mil. 289; *kabala,* 'mouthful,' Pāt. 22, Mah, 121, but *kabaḷa,* Jāt.i. 68, Mil. 180, *kabalikā,* M vi. 14, 5; *kukkula,* 'hot ashes,' Ab. 36, but *kukkuḷa,* Jāt. i. 73, 423, *māla,* 'pavilion,' M.ii. 5,9, but *māla,* Gr., 47; *cola,* 'cloth,' Pāt. 86, Mah. 219, *colaka,* C. v.9,4, but *caḷa,* Mil. 74, *coḷaka,* M.i.25, 15, Mil. 53; *celukkhepa,* 'waving a cloth,' Mah.99, 113, but *ceḷukkhepa,* Samanta Pāsād. 336; *gālha,* 'deep,' Jāt. ii. 57, but *gāḷha,* Jāt. i. 155, *gāḷhaka,* Jāt. i. 265; *gādha* also is found in a later text, Saddhammopāyana, v. 394.

(4) *Dentals*—The change of a dental to a cerebral is gènerally caused by a preceding *r* in original form of the word; for instance, *pajjiṇṇa*=parjanya, Man. 129 (*pajjunna,* Jāt. i. 331), 'cloud,' *kaṭ ākata,* = kṛtākṛita, 'done and undone,' M.vi. 14, 7, but *katākata,* Dh.v. 50; *sakkaṭa*=saṃskrta, 'Saṃskrit,' in a passage of Buddhaghosa quoted C. 322, but *sakkata,* Kacc. 10; *pāsaṇḍa,* 'heretical,' most probably= pārshadya, Kern, Açoka, 58. In a great many instances, however, an *r* has no effect on a following dental as in *mudsikā*=mṛdhvika, M. vi. 35, 6; in *attha*=artha,'cause,' also spelt *aṭṭha*; in the verb *uattali,* 'to begin,'=vartate (*vaṭṭati* means 'to be right,' see Childers, s.v.); *pati* and *paṭi*=prati (see Childers, s.v.); *sithila,* 'loose,' and *saṭhila,* 'crafty,'= both ftom çrath (comp. Hem. i. 89), *sāthalika,* Ang. ii. 5,3. The *n* of the preposition *ni* preceded by *pa* =pra is always changed into ṇ, as, *e.g., paṇidahati*= pranidhā; after *pari* it is generally changed, as in *pariṇāyaka,* Mil. 38, Jāt. ii. 393; we find, however, also *parināyaka,* Mah. 63, Mahāparin. 5, and *parinaya*=pariṇaya, 'marriage,' Ab. 318, *pariniṭṭhanti,* S.P. 332. On the other hand we have also instances where the change of a dental into a cerebral is not due to a preceding *r,* as in *sūnā,* =çūnā, 'a slaughter-house,' also spelt *sūnā,* M.vi.10, 2, Suttavibh. i. 59; *jaṇṇu*=jānu, 'knee,' Mahāparin. 69, Ab. 742; *sakuṇa*= çakuna,'

'a bird;' *sakkunāti*=çaknoti, 'to be able;' *saṇim, saṇikam,* = çanis, 'slowly' or 'quickly;' *sobhaṇa*=çobhana, 'resplendent;' *diṇṇa,* past participle of *dā,* 'to give', in *paryādiṇṇa,* Mil. 289; *kaviṭṭha* and *kapiṭ ṭha,* Jāt. i. 237, =*kapittha,* 'the tree Feronia Elephantum,' *kapiṭhana*= kapītana, 'the tree Thespesia Populneoides,' Suttavibh. ii. 35; *patisallāṇa*=pratisaṃlayana, 'seclusion,' spelt with the dental, Dīp. 63, Jāt. ii.77 and Mil. 138,v.l.; *patisalgna*=pratisṃlīna,'secluded,' spelt with the dental, M.ii.1, 2. *vipāṭeti*=vipāteti, 'to crush,' C.v.11,1, if the reading introduced by Oldenberg is correct, but perhaps we ought to stick to *vipphādetuā,* given by the manuscripts, and derive this from form visphur with change of *r* to *d,* as in some other instances given below, p. 23. *Vibhīṭala*=Vibhīṭaka, 'beleric myrobalan,' Ab. 567, Jāt.ii.161, spelt with the dental, M. vi. 6, Att. 213; *vidaḍḍhatā*= vidagdhatā, 'gallantry,' Att. 199; *uṇṇata*=unnata, 'high,' Ab. 289, *uṇṇametave,* Fausb. S.N.xi., *uṇṇati,* ib. 158; *saṇati*= svand, 'to sound', Mil. 414, but, *sanita,* Ab. 747, *sanantā,* Fausb. S.N. 131. In some cases the change of the dental to the cerebral is due to the influence of a sibilant, as in most derivatives of the root *sthā,* 'to stand,' *e.g., ṭhāmo* = sṭhāman or sthāmas, 'strength,' Gr. 121, v.l., Kacc. 315 Sutta Nipāta, 34 ap. Senart. Mahāvastu, 628, spelt also *thāmo* several times (comp. Hem. iv. 267), *ṭhāna*=sthāna 'standing', *ṭhapeti,* caus., etc.; exceptions are *indapatta*=indraprastha, 'name of a town;' *majjhatta*= madhyastha 'impartial,' where the aspiration dropped besides, and *sanhāgāra*= saṃsthā+agāra, 'a royal rest-house,' M. vi. 31, 1 Mahāparin. 60. In derivations of the root *vas,* 'to dwell,' we find the cerebral and the dental used promiscuously. The past parts is *vuṭṭha* or *suṭṭha,* Kacc. 291; in composition *adhivattha,* Jāt.i. 99, *adhivuttha,* Mahāper. 23, *upavuṭ ṭha,* Cariy. ii. 3,2, *parivuṭṭha,* Pāt. 6 : for the absolutive *parivaṭṭhabba* in the same line we should adopt the reading give in the foot-note. The roots *dah* 'to burn,' and *das* 'to bite ,' take the cerebral *ḍ* in those form where there is no cerebral in the second syllable; there are; however, exceptions to this, as *dayheyya,* Mil. 84, Att. 192, 208, Dāṭh. iii. 10, *upadaṃseti,* Suttavibh. ii. 309; in some compositions of *dah* the *d* is changed to *ḷ,* as in *viḷayhase* (v. l. *vilayhase* and *vidayhase),* Jāt. ii. 220, *āḷāhana,* 'a cemetery,' *pariḷāha,* 'fever, pain.'

D is often changed to *l,* as in *ālimpana,* 'light' = *ādipana,* Mil. 43; *ālimpāpeti,* 'to kindle,' Suttavibh. i. 85; *dohala* = dauhṛda, 'the longing of a pregnant woman,' and *dohaliṇī,* Jāt. ii. 395, Kacc. 203, *bila*=*viḍa,* 'part, bit;' in *bilasā,* Kacc. 91, *bilaso,* Kh. 30, *ulu* = uḍu, 'lunar mansion,' *āvelā* = āpīḍa, Prāk. āmela, Hem. i. 105, 202, 234;

koviḷāra=kovidāra, 'Bauhinia variegata;' *uḷāra* = udāra, 'noble.' *Dh.* passes into *l* in *gharagolikā* = gṛhagodhikā, 'lizard.' *N* is changed to *ḷ* in *ela* = enas, 'fault,' *nela,* 'faultless,' from the same, not as Trenckner suggests, from nariya (Childers, add. s. v.) : comp. *anelaka,* Senart, Mahāvastu 572, *pilandhati*=pinah, 'to wear,' *piḷandhitvā,* Jāt. i. 100.

Change of *d* to *y,* forming an analogy to the ya-çruti of the Jainaprākṛt occurs in *goyāna* = godāna, in *Aparagoyāna,* 'name of one of the Mahādīpas', *sāyati* 'to taste,' = svādate, *khāyita* = khādita, 'eaten', and *kāyitabba,* C. v. 34, *vikkhāyitaka,* 'one of the Asubha-kammaṭṭhānas,' Kern, Buddhism, 402. *Avāhayi,* Jāt. ii. 354, must be derived from the root *had,* which we have in *ohadāmase* of the following verse.

I here add those cases where *ṭ* is changed to *ḷ* and *t* to *r* without being able to decide whether we have to adopt an intermediate from *ḍ, d* or not : *āḷavi* = āṭavi, 'name of a city in India;' *āḷavika* = āṭavika,' 'dwelling in forests;' *kakkhaḷa* = kakkhaṭa, 'hard, solid,' Prāk, kakkhaḍa, Pischel, Beitr. iii. 251 (*kakkaṭa,* Mah. 57); *kheḷa* = kheṭa, 'saliva,' in *kheḷāpaka,* C. vii. 3, 1 = kheṭātmaka according to Kern, Buddhism, 180; *kulaṅka*=kuṭaṅka, 'roof,' in *kulaṅkapādaka, C.vi.*3,4 (v.l.*kulunkap°); paḷaccara*=paṭaccara, 'old clothes.'

(5) *Labialsa*—P is changed to *m* in *sumanta*=supanta, 'sleeping,' Mil. 368; *dhūmāyati*=dhūpāyati, 'to fumigate,' Jāt. i. 360, Samanta Pāsād. 315, Dīp. 83. *Bh* is changed to *m* in *dindima*=dundubhi, 'a drum'; *m* is changed to *v* in *vīnaṃs*=mimāṃs, Kacc. 243.

(6) *Half-vowels* :

(a) *Y* is often changed to *v,* as in *kīva*=kiyant, 'how much;' *tivaṅgika*=tryaṅgika, 'having three angas,' Saddhammop. v. 65; *tivaṅgula*=tryaṅgula, 'triangular', Samanta Pāsād. 336; *kaṇḍuvati*= kaṇūyati, 'to scratch,' Suttavibh. i.117; *migava*=mṛgayā, 'hunting,' M.x. 2,15; *navutta*=nayuta, 'a large number,' Dh.143; *sampavaṅka*= samparyaṅka, 'friend,' Mahāparinibb. 6, Feer, Etudes Bouddh. 51, Weber, Indische Streifen, iii. 397; *paṭiviṃsa* or *paṭivisa,* M. vii.11,1, C. xii.1,1, Suttavibh.i. 60=pratyaṃça, 'portion,' with samprasāraṇa, *vivina*=vijana, 'lonely,' Cariy. i.1,3; *pavecchati,* 'to give,' Jāt. i. 28, Mil. 375, is identified with some hesitation to payacchati by Trenckner, Pāli Mise. 61. *Y* is changed to *b* in *pubba*=pūya, 'pus, matter;' *jalābu*=jarāu, 'the womb;' *niddujjhati*=niryudh, 'to struggle,' C.i.13,2, Suttavibh.i.180, partic. *nibbuddha,* Gr. 9, Mil. 232; to *bh* in *sarabhū*= sarayu, 'name of a river.'

Y is changed to *r* in *kuḷira*=kuḷiya, 'mattress,' according to Buddhaghosa, Suttavibh. ii, 40, 357, Pāt. 86, spelt *kulira*, C. vi.2, 3; *vedhavera*=vaidhaveya, 'the son of a widow;' sāmaṇera=çrāmaṇeya, 'a novice,' Kacc. 188; *bāhira*=bāhya, 'external' *(bāhiya,* Jāt. i. 422); *antrāyati*=antarāyati, 'to run into danger.' It is changed to *l* in *laṭṭhi*=yashṭi, 'stick,' *jotalati*=jyotayati, 'to lighten,' Kacc. 234, *upakkamālati*=upakramāyati, 'to manoeuvre,' ib.235; to *h* in *nahuta*=nayuta, 'a vast number,' *ranañjaha*=ranañjaya, 'victorious in the battle,' Mil. 21, Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 83, *sahampti*=svayampati, 'epithet of Brahmā,' M.i.5,5, Vinaya Texts, i. 86, *upaṭṭhāka*=upaṭṭhāyaka, C. i.18, 5. *Y* is changed to *j* (as in Prākṛt, see E.M. Beiträge zur Gramm. d. Jainaprāk. p. 31) in *jantāghara, jantaggha*= yantragṛba, 'bath-room,' Oldenberg K.Z. xxv. 325.

(b) *V* is changed to *y* in *dāya*=dāva, 'forest' *dāyapāla,* M. x. 4, 2, comp. Senart, Mahāvastu, 633, *lāyati,* 'to reap,' Jāt. i. 215, and *lāyeti,* Suttavibh. i. 64=*lāveti, chāya* = çāva, 'the young of an animal,' Ten Jāt. ii. (generally *chāpa),* caccara = catvara, 'a courtyard,' through an intermediate catyara. *V* is changed to *b* in *paribbasāna,* 'abiding,' from vas, Fausb. S.N. xii. 152; *vārabāṇa*=vāravāṇa, 'a woman's jacket;' *sibbana*, 'sewing,'=sīvana, and *sibbinī,* 'a needle,' M. viii. 1, 18, comp. Prāk. sivvinī, Pischel Beitr. iii. 260 (most probably from false analogy of *sibbati*=sīvyate, 'to sew') ; *subbaco*=suvacas, 'compliant;' *subbuṭṭhi*=suvṛshṭi, 'abundance of raın;' *thabaka*=stavaka, 'a cluster of blossoms;' *balibadda*=balivarda, 'an ox;' *sambāhati*=saṃvāh, 'to shampoo;' Jāt. i. 293, Suttavibh. i. 83; *sāribā*=çārivā 'name of a plant;' kabala=kavala, 'mouthful;' *kabaḷikā*=kavalikā, 'compress,' M. vı. 14, 5.

V is hardened to *p* in *lāpa*=lāva, 'quail,' Jāt. ii. 59; *pajāpati*= prajāvatī 'wife;' *pettāpiya*=pitṛvya, 'cousim,' Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 62; *palāpa*=palāva, 'chaff;' *chāpa*=çāva, 'the young of an animal;' *opilāpeti,* 'to sink,' M. iv. 1,3, vi. 26,6, according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 63, from plu (Childers, add derives it from pīḍ); *avāpurati,* 'to open' *apāuṇamti amatassa dvāraṃ,* It. 84, v. 2, and *pāpurati* or *pārupati,* 'to dress,' from var; *apadāna*=avadāna, 'legend;' and also *sapadānam,* 'regularly,' (Trenckner, Mil. 428, derives it from sapadi+ ayana, which I do not quite understand) = sa+avadāna, according to Senart, Mahāvastu, 595; supāna, 'dog,' Mil. 147; *dhopana*=dhovana, 'cleaning,' Jāt. ii. 117; *sipāṭikā*=çivāṭkā, M.vi. 7. C.v.11, 2,27,3 (in the two latter passages, however, it seems to have another meaning—Buddhaghosa explains it by *kosaka,* 'a sheath').

(7) *Liquids :*

The change of *r* to *l* is frequent enough in Pāli. although not quite so frequent as in some other Indian dialects, especially the Māgadhī of the inscriptions. Instances are *ludda*=rudra, 'dreadful,' Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 59; *lujjati*=ruj, 'to break,' M. viii. 21,1 (Dhm. vināse), and its compound *palujjati,* M.iii. 5, 9, Mahāparinibb. 40; *paloka,* 'the necessity of dissolution,' ib.; *sajjulasa*=sarijarasa, 'resin,' M.vi.7; *elāḷuka*=ervāruka, 'cucumber,' Jāt. i. 205, 312; *elaṇḍa*, 'Ricinus,' Assalāyanasutta 35; *salaḷa*=sarala 'a flower,' Jāt.i. 13; *puthuloma*= pṛthuroman, 'a fish;' the preposition *pari* in *palibodha*, 'hindrance,' which according to Childers, is the result of a confusion between *parirodha* and *paribādha; palibuddhati* 'to hinder,' *paligha*=paligha, 'an iron beam;' *paligedhā,* a compound of *gedha,* 'greed,' Ang. ii. 4, 7 (it has nothing to do with the Sinhalese Pali, 'reverend,' in the Tissamahāma inscription); *palipanna*=paripanna, 'covered,' M. viii. 26,1; *paliguṇṭima* 'entangled' (also spelt *palikuṇḍhita,* Jāt. ii. 92); *pāliguṇṭhima,* 'laced,' M. v. 2,3; *paliveṭheti*=pariveshṭ, 'to wrap up,' *phālibhadda,* Jāt.ii. 163=pāribhadra, 'the coral tree,' Prāk. *phālihadda,* Hem.i.232,254; *sukhumāla*=*sukumāla,* 'youthful,' by amalgation with sukhuma, Trenckner 66; *agalu*=aguru, 'Agallochum;' *vāla*=vār, 'water;' *kaṭula*=kaṭura, 'buttermilk,' M. vi. 17, 1, Sutttavibh. i.66.

R is changed to *d* in *purindada* = purandara, 'a name of Indra', also written *purinda,* Cariy. i. 9, 3, *sārandada,* name of a yakkha, Mahāparin. 4; it is changed to *y* in *sāyanīya* = sāraṇīya, according to Senart Mahāvastu 599 (see above, p. 15), *mātya, petyā* = mātrā, pitrā, Jāt. 527, v. 3, 5. 528, v. 26. Trenckner, Pāli Mise. 56.

L is changed to *r* in *ākurati,* from *ākula,* 'troubled'; the Dhm. v. 94 has a vrey *kura saddādanesu*, which possibly may be identical with *ākurati,* although it is not known from any other text; *kira* = kila, 'they say;' *ārammana*= ālambana, 'support,' *arañjara* = aliñjara, 'water-jar.'

L is changed to *n* in *nalāṭa*=lalāṭa, 'forehead;' *naṅgala*=lāṅgala, 'plough;' *naṅgula*=lāṅgula, 'tail;' *dehanī*=dehalī, 'threshold;' *tintinī,* 'the tamarind tree,' comp. *tintiṇanta,* Jāt, i. 243.

(8) *Sibilants :*

As there is only one sibilant in Pāli, ç and sh are also represented by *s*. There are, however, a few exceptions to this rule : ç is represented by ch in *chava*=çava, 'corpse,' M. iii. 12,7, and as an adjective 'vile,'

chāpa and *chāya,* 'the young of an animal,' *cheppā*=çepa,'tail;' it is represented by ḍ in *ḍāka*=çāka, 'pot-herb,' M. vi.35,6; 36,8.

H sometimes returns to its original medial aspirate, and this gives us Pāli forms which are older than the corresponding ones in Sanskrit: the root *nah* in composition with *api, ava, upa, vi,* gives *pilandhati, onandhati; upanandhati, vinandhati;* these forms show us that the original form of the root was *nadh* and *nagh,* as one would feel inclined to think from comparing the Latin necto, (see Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, p.76.) Similar forms are *agghati,* 'to cast,' compared with *arahati, dubbhati,* 'to cheat,'=druh, Jāt. i. 267, iii. 13, 192, and the adjectives belonging to the same root, *dūbhin,* Jāt.ii.386, *dūbaka,* Jāt. i.363; *adrūbhāya,* 'truly, without falsehood,' M. x.2, 17 ; *ghammati*= hammati, 'to go,' Naigh. 2, 14, Prāk. hammaï, Hem. iv. 162, Hāla 694, *ghañña,* 'destruction,' from han; the root har is found in its older form in *saṃghritabba* v. l. to *saṃharitabba,* M.i. 25,10 Dh. 143.

A curious change of *h* to *s* occurs in *senesika*=snaihika, 'oily,' M. vi. 1, 4, and *golisa*=goliha, 'name of a plant.'

9. General Remarks Referring to Consonants of Different Classes

(1) Aspiration is very frequent in Pāli with hard and soft consonants. Instances are : *satthi*=çakti, 'ability,' *dhona*=drona, 'a measure of capacity,' Dh. 43, Fausb. S. N. 58, 149; *sukhumāla*= sukumāra, 'youthful;' *thambhakari*=stambakari, 'rice;' *kiñcikkha*= kiñcid+ka, 'some trifle;' *khaḷopi*=karoṭi, 'pot', Mil. 107, according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 60 (also spelt *kalopi); Khandha*=Skanda, 'the god Skanda,' through confusion with *khandha,* 'shoulder;' *paccaggha*=pratyagra, 'new'; *phāliphulla,* 'in full blossom,' Jāt.i.52, Mahāparin. 53; *phālibhadda*=pāribhadra, Jāt. ii. 163; *phāsu,* 'agreeable,'=prāçu accourding to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 8—I have derived it, following Paul Goldschmidt, from a hypothetical form smarçu (see my contrib. to Sinh. Gr. p.13, note); *phāsukā*=phārçuā, 'a rib,' also written *pāsukā,* C.X.10,1; *phussa*=pushya, 'name of a month,' and *phussita*=puspita, 'blossoming;' *phārusaka*=parūsaka, 'Grewia Asiatica,' M. vi.35.6; *phalu*=paru, 'joint;' *phallava*=pallava 'sprout,' Jāt.iii.40; *saṅkhalikā*=saṅkalikā, 'heap,' Jāt.i.433, Suttavibh.i.105, Angp. 114, through confusing with saṅkhalikā, 'chain,' Senart, Mahāvastu 387; the reverse process is found in Prāk., where çṛṅkhala is changed to *saṃkala,* according to Hem. i. 189; *valabhāmukha*= vaḍabāmukha, *erāpatha*=airāvata, 'king of the

Nāgas', Jāt. ii. 145=C.v.6, spelt *erapatta,* Saddhammopāyana, v. 349, *erakapatta,* Dh. 344; *āpātha*=āpāta, 'path,' Trenckner, Mil. 298, M. v. 1, 25, Samanta Pās., 300; *sunakha,* 'dog,' and *lāmakha,* 'vile,' Jāt.ii. 430, are most probably older forms, as we have the aspiration also in Prāk. suṇaho, Hem.i. 52, Pischel Beither. vi.92.

(2) The aspiration is dropped in *khudā*=kshudhā, 'hunger;' *khudita,* 'hungry' *upādisesa*=updhiçesha (and with change of the position of the component parts *sesopādi,* Dāṭh. ii. 36), Oldenberg, Buddha, pp. 437, ff.; *maṭṭa*=mṛshṭa, 'polished;' *abhivaṭṭa*=abhivṛshṭa, 'wet from rain,' Mil. 176; *anovaṭṭa,* Jāt. i. 18; *paṭanga*= phaḍinga, 'flying insect;' *paggava*= phalgava, from phalgu, 'herb,' Jāt. ii. 105; *anaṅgaṇa,* 'free from impurity,' compared with aṅhas 'sin,' Jainaprāk. aṇaṇhaya (E.M. Beitr., p. 33); *rajovajalla* and *rajojalla,* Ass. S. 13, Jāt.i.390, 'dust and dirt,' rajas+jhalla, comp. Jainapr. jhalla, E.M. Beitr. 34; *āvajjeti*=avadhyā, 'to reflect,' Senart, Mahāvastu 377; a curious instance of dropped aspiration is *kā,* Jāt. ii.258=khā, 'spring,' Naigh., and perhaps we have to notice the same process in *kakkāreti,* 'to express disgust,' Jāt. ii. 105, Five Jāt. 29, = *khaṭ* or *khāṭ+kāreti,* which, however, might be also derived, with Childers, from *kāṭ+kāreṭ i.* As in Greek, two aspirations are not allowed in two syllables following each other, and when this happens the first is dropped, as, *e.g., nikkaddhati*= nishṛsh, 'to cast out.'

(3) There are also instances where the aspirate drops its first part and *h* alone remains, as is done frequently in Sanskrit and later on in all the vernaculars. I believe, however, that a number of instances, especially those with *bh,* are only due to the bad writing of the Sinhalese, in whose alphabet *h* and *bh* are so easily confounded; M.i. 1, 3, four MSS. have the form *have,* but Buddhaghosa reads *bhave* which shows us clearly the etymology of the word; the same process can be observed in the form *hupeyya,* M.i.6,9 (according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. p. 62, a Burmese error for the *huveyya).* Other instances are *momuuhato* from *momugha,* 'foolish,' Fausb. S.N. 161, *ruhira*=rudhira, 'blood,' Jāt.i. 274, ii. 276, Cariy.i. 9, 13, C. vii. 3,9; at Bhikkhunīpāc. 60, Minayeff, p. 108, reads *ruhita,* the Suttavibh. ii.316, *rūhita* with the v. l. *rudhita,* 'boil.' *Suhita,* Jāt.xx. 1,4, quoted by Minayeef, Section 43, is=Skt. suhita and not sukhita.

(4) Softening of a hard consonant, that is to say, substitution of a sonant for a surd, is frequent enough in Pāli, as in *pasada*=pṛshata, 'the spotted antelope,' Cariy. iii. 13, 2; *uda*=uta, 'or;' *ruda*=ruta,

'cry,' i. 207 (comp. ii. 388, where we have the readings *rūda* and *rūta*); *kalandaka*=kalantaka, 'squirrel;' *paṭigacca*=*paṭikacca* (v.l.) from *paṭikaroti,* 'to provide against future events,' M. i. 31, 1, Trenckner at Mil.48, 421; *vedhati*=vyathayati, 'to tremble;' *balasata*= parasvant, 'rhinoceros,' Trenckner, P.M. 59; *sujā*=sruc, 'a ladle;' *puñj* for *puñch*=proñch, 'to wipe,' Jāt. i. 47, 318, 352. A certain instance of this change is in my opinion *jhāyati*=kshā, 'to burn,' although Trenckner, P.M. 65, objects; I have found several new forms of this verb and its causative *jhāpeti* or *jhapeti,* in addition to those given by Childers : *jhatvā,* Jāt. ii. 262 (Comn. *kilametvā); jhatta,* Mah. 146, Dh. 325; *nijjhatta,* Mil. 209, and most probably also *jāpeti*, Mil. 171, which seems to be a misprint; comp. *nijhapeti,* 'to injure,' in Açoka's pillar edict, on. iv. Cunningham, p. 112; Kern, Ind. Ant. v. 237; Prāk, no. jhijjai, Hem. ii. 3.

Instead of *p* we generally find *v* in this case, as in *āvulā*=āpīḍā, 'garland;' *theva*=stepa, 'drop,' Pischel Beitr. iii. 239, vi. 102 (Hem. ii. 125 derives it from stoka); *posāvaha,* 'sup-porting,' according to Childers=*posāpana; vyāvaṭa*=vyāpṛta, 'covered,' Trenckner, P.M. 63, and *veyyāvacca, veyyāvaṭika,* 'service.'

(5) The reverse process, hardening of a soft consonant, or substitution of a surd for a sonant, in *pāyāka*=prayāga, 'sacrifice,' Jāt. 543; *ajakara*=ajagara, 'the boa constrictor,' Jāt. iii. 484; *kilāsu*=glāsnu, 'lazy,' Suttavibh. i. 8; *kaṭupika,* 'going up to the waist,' Jāt. 119, compared with *katupaga,* Suttavibh. ii. 340; *dūrūpaka*, Jāt. ii.167; *kuḷupika,* C. x. 13, 1; *saṃsati* for saṃsadi, loc. of saṃsad, 'congregation,' Jāt. iii.493, 495; *parisati* and *parisariṃ,* loc. of parishah, Suttavibh. ii. 285; *kusīta* for kusīda, 'lazy,' already in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā; *pipa*=pıba, 'drink,' Jāt. i.459; *pokkharasātaka*=pushakarasādaka, 'name of a bird;' *dhopana*=dhovana, 'washing,' Jāt. ii. 117; *laketi*=lageti, 'to stick;' and *lakanaka,* 'anchor,' Mil.377; *thaketi*=sthagayati, 'to cover,' sometimes spelt *thakk.°*, Suttavibh. ii. 54; *palikha*=paligha, 'an iron beam,' Jāt. 545; *chakala*=chagala, 'goat,' Suttavibh.i.166; *chakaṇa*= chagaṇa, 'dung,' M. vi. 9; *palikuṇṭhita*=pariguṇṭhita, 'entangled,' Jāt. ii.92; *pabbaja*=balvaja, 'reed' (spelt *babbaja,* Suttavibh. i. 90); *pappata*=parvata, 'mountain,' I.O.C. 104; *tippa* for *tibba*=tīvra, 'sharp,' Mil. 148; *tuvaṃtuva,* 'quarrel'=dvandva, through confusion with the pronoun *tvaṃ; pāceti*=pra+aj, 'to drive,' and *pācana,* 'a goad,' Cariy. i.1,1; *sateratā*=çatahradā, 'lıghtning;' *jaṇṇutaggha*=jānudaghna, 'knee-deep, 'Prāk. othaggha, Pāiyal.249; *Yamataggi*=Jamadagni, 'name of a ṛshi;' *vipātikā*=vipādikā, 'abscess on the foot.' The root *dhā* in

some derivations substitutes *th,* as *pithīyati,* 'is covered'=apidhāyate (for which the Burmese write *pithīyati); upatheyya,* 'cushion.' A similar process with regard to the root *dhmā* can be observed on *santhamaṃ*= sandhaman, 'blowing,' Jāt.i.122.

(6) An interchange between the different classes of mutes is not infrequent in Pāli. Instances are *kipillika*=pipīlika, 'an ant,' also written *pipīlika,* Sadhammopāyana, v. 23; *pipillika,* Jāt.i.202; *takkola*=kakkola, 'Bdellium,' Jāt.i. 291, also used as name of a country, Mil. 359, where it most probably corresponds to Skt. Karkoṭa; *jalūpikā* = jalūkikā, 'a leech'; Mil. 407 originally jalauka, 'living in the water;' *khajjopanaka* = khadyota, 'the fire-fly,' Dh. 338, Dāṭh. iii., 78; *gaddūhana* = dadrūghna, 'a small measure of space or time,' Trenckner, P. M. 89; *kaḷopi* = kaṛti (written *khaḷopi,* Mil. 107, Ab. 456), 'a pot'; *ālupa* = āluka, 'ebony,' Jāt. 446, v. 1; *chiggala* = chidra + la, 'hole,' Childers, s.v. tāḷa, *pakudha* = Kakudha, C. v. 8, 1. In most of these cases the reason of the change is dissimilation, as we find it also in *phāsulikā* = pārçukā+ika, 'a rib,' M. i. 61,1; *sallalīkata* çalyakīkṛta, 'pierced,' Jāt. i. 180. Other instances are not quite so easy to explain, such as *rumbh* for rudh in *sanmirumbhitvā,* Jāt. i. 62, 80, 163, ii. 6 (v. l. *sannirujjhitvā),* comp. Fausböll, Ten Jāt 93, and *sakk* if this is really = sarp, as Trenckner, P. M. 60, believes; perhaps we ought to derive it from caṅkarm with a similar abbreviation of the reduplicated root, as in *jaggati* for *jāgarati,* but I give this merely as a hypothesis. The change of *c* to *s* would make no difficulty; the dissimilation adduced by Trenckner does not hold good for all instances, as in *osakkati, ussakkati, nissakkati, visakkiya,* Suttavibh. i.74, we have no *p* in the prepositions; comp. also Prāk. osakka, 'departed,' Pāiyal. 178. *Khāṇu,* 'the stump of a tree,' is rightly, referred to Skt. sthāṇu by the Prāk. grammarians Vararuci and Hemacandra, and the same change of sth to kh is also adopted for the explanation of duḥkha=duḥstha by Jacobi K.Z. xxv. pp. 438 ff., comp. Ascoli 236. *Chambhati* is derived from stambh, 'to tremble,' by Trenckner; Ascoli, p. 256, rejects this derivation, but does not suggest any other instead. From the Sanskrit of the northern Buddhists we might compare icchattam=itthattam 'existence,' Mahāvastu, 417.

10. Consonants Added or Dropped

A consonant is dropped in the beginning of a word in *ūkā* or *ūka*=yūka, 'louse,' Prāk. ūkā, Pischel Beitr. iii. 241.

A consonant is added at the beginning of some verbal forms commencing with a *u,* which originates from Samprasārana, as in *vuccati*=ucyate, *vutta*=upta, 'sown,' Mil. 375; *vuttha* and *vusita* from vasati, 'to dwell;' *vusīmat.* 'accomplished,' Fausböll, S.N. 208. This euphonic *v* is not only used after vowels but also after anusvāra, and sometimes even at the beginning of a line, as in *vuṭṭhahante,* Mah. 30. Where the *u* is long, we have to assume two prepositions, as in *vūpasamati*=vyupa°, comp. Senart, Mahāvastu, p. 441, and the same where the *v* is followed by *o,* as in *vokkamati*=vyutkram°, Hem.i. 116; and Pischel's remarks, avossajiṃsu, Dāṭh. iii. 15.

In the middle of a word consonants are often elided through Samprasāraṇa. The syllable *ya* is contracted to *i* in *mahābodhiṅgana*= mahābodhyaṅgana, 'the yard of the great Bo tree,' Mah. 176; *paṭiviṃsa* or *paṭivisa,* 'portion,'=*pratyaṃça; aticchatha,* 'go further on,' from *ati*+*acch; nibbijjhati*=nirvyadh, 'to pierce;' *saccika*=satyaka, 'true,' Mil. 226; *pattiya*=pratyaya and *pattiyāyati,* 'to belive,' Jāt. i. 426 v.l.; it is contracted to *e* in *vedhati*=vyath, 'to tremble;' to *i* in *vītivatta*= vyativṛtta, 'having passed;' *avīvadāta*=*avyavadāta,* 'confused,' Fausböll, S.N. 149; *vītihāra*=vyatihāra, 'long step.'

The syllable *yā* is contracted to *ī* in *visīveti* = viçyāpayati, 'to warm oneself,' sometime written *visibbeti* through confusion with *visibbati,* 'to unsew,' *e.g.*, M. i. 20, 15, Pāt. 15, Suttavibh. ii. 115; from the same root *āsīyati* = āçyāyati. 'to cool oneself ,' Mil. 75; *thīna* = styāns, 'idleness,' but *patthinna,* 'stiff,' M. viii. 11, 2; to *i* in *anabhijjhita*=anabhidhyāta, 'not coveted,' M. viii. 12, 2, where, however, the *y* is also contained in the group *jjh;* to *e* in *jeyyo*=jyāyas, 'better;' *ajjheyyaka* = ādhyāyakā, 'teacher,' Rasavāhinī 19.

The syllable *va* is contracted to *u* in *supina* = svapna, 'sleep;' *turita* = tvarita, 'hasty;' *kuthita,* 'cooked,' from kvath, Vinaya texts, ii.57; it remains doubtful whether the root *kuth,* 'to be distressed,' Dhm. Mil. 250, Suttav. i.180, is the same; Dh. 155 we have *koddhetvā,* 'having cooked;' to *o* in *sobhānu*=svarbhānu, 'the ascending node;' *sobbha*=çvabhra, 'hole,' and *kussobbha,* 'small water,' Fausböll, S.N. 131; to *ū* in *catūha*=catu+ahan, 'four days,' M.i. 72,2.

The syllable *vā* is contracted to *u* in *laṭukikā* from laṭvāks, 'quail;' the syllable *vi* in *duratta*=dvirātra, 'two nights.' *Dohaḷinā,* which Kacc. 203 also considers as a compound of dvi, has nothing to do with this numeral.

Aya and *ayi* are contracted to e in a great number of causative verbs and also in a few primitives, as *apasseti*=apāçrayati, 'to lean,' C. vi. 20.2; *neti*=nayati, 'to lead;' *apassena*=apāçrayana; *ajjhena*=adhyayana, 'reading,' Jāt. iii. 114, Fausböll, S.N. 40; *acceka*=atyayika, 'accidental.' *Aya* and *āya* are contracted to *e* in *paleti*=palāyati, 'to flee;' to *ā* in *Kātiyānī* and *Kaccānī*=Kāṭyāyanī, Jāt. iii. 427; *Moggallāna*=Maudgalyāyana, *ekānika*=ekāyanika, Mil. 402; *upaṭṭhāka*=upaṭṭhāyaka, 'servant,' also written upaṭṭhaka with *ā,* Bv. ii. 70; *patisallāṇa*=pratisaṃlayana, 'solitude;' *abbhāna*=adhyayana, 'rehabilitation;' *upajjha*=upādhyāya, 'preceptor;' *adhiññā*=adhijñāya, 'having known;' *paṭsaṅkhā*=pratisaṅkhyāya, 'having reflected.'

The group *ariya* is first changed to *ayira* and then contracted to *era* in *ācera*= ācārya, 'teacher,' Khuddasikkhā; or to *īra,* as in *parihīrati*=pariharyati; *asaṃhīra*=asamharya, 'unconquerable,' Dīp.31.

Iya is contracted to i in *kittaka*=kiyattaka,'from kiyant,' how much;' to *e* in *etta, ettaka*=iyatta, from iyant, Mahāvastu, p. 384; in Prāk.we have kettia and ettia, Hem.ii.157.Goldschmidt, Prākritica, p. 23. Trenckner takes *etta* to be abridged from *ettaka,* Pāli Misc. 65, note 23.

Ava is contracted to *o* very often in compounds formed with the preposition ava, as *onīta*=avanīta, 'cleansed,' in the phrase *onītapattapāṇi,* frequent in the Vinaya, see Vinaya Texts i. 83; *ojahati*=avahā, 'to forsake,' aorist passive *ohiyi,* Dh. 158, *ohiyyaka,* 'left behind,' Suttavibh. i.208; *odahati*=avaḍhā, 'to deposit;' *vossagga*=vyavasarga, Lotus, 312, and *avossajjiṃsu,* Dāṭh. iii.15; *ogadha*=avagādha, 'belonging to;' *ora*=avara and avāra, 'lower' and 'hitter;' *opatta*=avapattra, 'without leaves,' Jāt. iii. 496; *uddosita*=udavasita, 'stable,' M. iii. 5, 9, C. x. 24, Suttavibh. i. 200, Ab. 213. Other instances are *pahonaka*=prabhava-naka, 'sufficient,' and *pāhuna*=prabbavana, Mah. 205; *poṇa*=pravaṇa, 'sloping;' *opeti*=āvapati, 'to put,' Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 78; *osāpeti* causative of āviç, 'to sling,' Jāt. i. 25. In *anavaya*=anavayava, 'perfectly versed in,' Mil.10, and *appatissa*=appatissava, Jāt. i.217, the last syllable is dropped because the word was too long.

Instead of *o* we also find *u* in the same or similar cases, as *ūhadati*=ava had, 'to befoul with excrement', (see above pp. 10-11); *ujjhāyati*=avadhyā, 'to be annoyed;' *uññā*=avajñā, 'contempt,' and *uññātabha,* Feer, Et. Bouddh. 128; *āhuneyya*=āhavanīya, Mahāparin. 20 comp. the commentary to Aug. ii. 4,4.

The group *apa* can undergo the same changes as *ava*, and it is sometimes difficult to find out which preposition we must assume as

the corresponding Sanskrit word : *ovaraka*=apavaraka, 'store-room' Jāt.i.391; *oggata*=apagata in *oggate suriye,* 'after sunset,' Suttavibh. ii. 268, *ottappa*=apatrāpya, 'fear of sinning,' Senart, Mahāvastu 463.

Other contractions have place in *oka*=udaka, 'water;' *Kuçinārā*=Kuçinagara; *koṭṭhaka*=koyashtika,'paddy bird,' Five Jāt.36; *jantaggha*=yantragṛha,'bath-room,' Suttavibh. i. 55; *paccūsamaya*= paccūsamaya, 'morning;' *changula*=shaḍaṅgula,'six inches,' Mah. 211; *pavissāmi* for *pavisissāmi,* Jāt.ii.68; *sosārita*= su+ osārita; *dosārita*= durosārita 'duly and unduly restored,' M. ix. 4, 11; *vivicchā*=vicikicchā, 'doubt;' *dūpadhārita,* =durupadh°, Suttavibh. ii. 275, the opposite to *sūpadhārita,* 'well kept in mind,' M.v.13, 9.

Metathesis is very frequent in Sinhalese, see my Contrib. to Sinh. Grammar, p. 14; in Pāli we have only a few instances, as *upāhanā*= upānah, 'shoe;' *pārupana* for pāvaraṇa or pāvurana, Suttavibh. i. 180, 'upper robe,' see Pischel, Beitr. iii. 247; *kasaṭa*=sakaṭa, 'insipid,' Mil. 119, Dh. 257, Jāt. ii.97, Ang. ii.5,5; *cilimikā.* C. vi.2, 6 and *cimilikā,* Suttavibh. ii. 40, most probably go back to a form cilamīlikā or ciliminikā, 'an ornament,' Vyut. 208, comp. Vinaya texts ii. 153.

11. Changes of Consonants at the End of a Word

According to the rule given above, p. 16,we only find vowels or nasals at the end of a Pāli word. Every nasal is changed into anusvāra and a preceding long vowel shortened in consequence. Very often the anusvāra is dropped altogether especially in verse when a short syllable is required by the metre, as *etaṃ, buddhāna sāsanaṃ*=etad buddhānām çāsanam, 'this is the command of the Buddhas,' Dh. v. 183. Other cases will be treated of in the chapter on Sandhi.

Before a word beginning with a consonant the anusvāra can be changed into the nasal of the corresponding class, as in *hirin tarantaṃ,* Jāt.iii. 196. Before a word beginning with a vowel the anusvāra may be changed into *m,* as in *caram atandito* for caran=carant, Dh. v. 305.

The termination as generally becomes *o* whatever the consonant beginning the next word may be, as in the nom. sing, of *a*—stems almost regularly. There are a few exceptions to this rule which are considered as Māgadhisms by most grammarians. A passage of this kind occurs in the Sāmaññaphalasutta Gr. p. 121, *n' atthi attakāre n' atthi parakāre n'atthi purisakāre,* 'there is no action on our part, there is no action on the part of others, there is no human action.' Another Māgadhizing passage from Majjhima Nikāya is quoted by

Trenckner, Pāli Misc. p. 75: *ānañjādhimuttassa purisapuggalassa ye lokāmisa-sañño jane se vante,* where we find the *e* used for neuter noun. I fell sure that a more careful study of Pāli literature will furnish us a great many more passages of this kind. They all agree in this point, that the nom. in *e* is only formed of stems *a* and never of amy consonantal stems, the same rule which holds good for the Jainaprākṛt, see E.M. Beitr. zur Gram. d. Jainapr. p. 38. About the origin of this *e* several opinions have been advanced, but I will not discuss them here, as the subject belongs more especially to Prākṛt grammar. The vocatives *bhante* and *bhikkhave* are taken over directly from the Māgadhī.

Besides these nominatives in *e* we have several adverbs terminating in *as,* which change the *as* to *e,* as *suve*=çvaḥ 'tomorrow;' *tadahe*= tadahas, 'on that day,' which also occurs in the form *tadahu; atippage* (and *atippago*)=atiprāgaḥ, Senart, Mahāvastu 418, most probably also *tāvade yāvade,* which, however, are explained by Childers as abridged forms of *tāvadeva, yāvadeva.*

The *s* is dropped and the *a* alone remains in *okamokata* for okamokatas, 'from the water,' Dh. v. 34; *tāvatiṃsa*=tryastṛṃça, 'thirty-three;' and with lengthening of the *a, rajāpatha*=rajaḥpatha, 'dust-hole;' *jarāmarana*=jaras+maraṇa, 'decay and death.'

The syllable *as* is changed to *u* through an intermediate *o* in *tanahu, mithu*=mithas, 'mutually;' *mithubheda,* M. vi. 28, 8; *sajju*=sadyas, 'instantly.'

Other consonants at the end of a word are simply dropped, and the remaining vowel generally is not changed. There are, however, some cases where it is lengthened, shortened, or a nasal is added :

(1) It is lengthened in *dhī*=dhik, 'fie;' *brahā*=bṛhat, 'mighty;' *parisā*=parishad, 'assembly.'

(2) It is shortenened, as in *kayira* for *kayirā*=kuryāt, Das., Jāt. 28; *assa*=syāt, etc.

(3) A nasal is added, as in the verbal terminations *uṃ*=us, *eyyuṃ*=eyyus, *isuṃ*=ishus, *sanaṃ*=sanat, 'always;' *saniṃ*= çanais,' 'slowly' or 'quickly,' Mah. 156; *visuṃ*=vishvak, 'separately;' *khattuṃ* =kṛtvas, a form which occurs also in the Sanskrit of the northern Buddhists, see Senart, Mahāvastu 541; *manaṃ*= manāk, 'nearly,' Jāt.i. 149, M.ii.12,1, the same form in Prāk.Hem. ii.169; *tiriyaṃ*=tiryak, 'across.'

12. Compound Consonants

Compound consonants are genarally assimilated, as in all Prākṛt dialects. Sometimes the assimelation is avoided by inserting a vowel, as we have seen above, p. 9. In the beginning of a word, instead of a double surd or sonant senant resulting from assimilation, a single surd or sonant is written, and instead of a surd or sonant aspirate only the aspirate.

The assimilation is generally progressive, so that the first consonant is assimiated to the second, especially so with explosives.

Kt becomes *tt* in *mutta*=mukta, 'released' (but *kk* in *paṭimukka*, 'fixed'); *satti*=çakti, 'power'(also written *satthi); sattu*=çaktu, 'barley' (also written *satthu* at Pāt. 89); *sippi* 'pearl oyster,' which Trenckner, Pāli Misc.60,identifies with çukti, I believe to be borrowed from some vernacular language.

Kth becomes *tth*, as *satthi*=çakthi, 'thigh.'

Gdh becomes *ddh*, as in *duddha*=dugdha, 'milk.'

G+bh=bbh : pabbhāra=prāgbhāra, 'a cave.'

Ḍ+g=gg : khagga=khaḍga, 'a sward.'

T+k=kk : ukkāra=utkāra, 'dung.'

T+p=pp : uppatati=utpat, 'to jump.'

D+g=gg : puggala=pudgala, 'individual.'

D+gh=ggh : uggharati=ud+ghṛ, 'to ooze.'

D+b=bb : bubbula=budbuda, 'a bubble'.

D+bh=bbh : ubbhijjati=ud+bhid, 'to burst'; *'ubbhitodaka*= udbhṛtodaka, Gr. 140.

P+t=tt : vutta=upta, 'shaven.'

B+j=jj : paṭikujjeti=prati+kubj, 'to cover', Jāt.i.50,69, Mahāparin. 56, Mahāvastu 377.

B+d=ḍd : sadda=çabda, 'a sound.'

B+dh=ddh : laddha=labdha, 'taken.'

When an explosive meets a following nasal the assimilation is generally retrogressive, or is avoided by the insertion of a vowel.There are, however, some instances also of progressive assimilation :

K+n becomes *kk* in *sakkoti* or *sakkuṇāti* (where the double *k* can

only be explained by false analogy)=çaknoti, 'to be able'; *kukkusa*= kiknasa, 'grain,' C. x. 27,4.

K+m=mm:rummavatī=rukmavatī, 'name of a verse', Vuttod. ap. Fryer, Pāli Studies, p.8.

G+n=gg in *aggi* or *aggini*=agni, 'fire,' Kacc. 54, Jāt. iii. 320; gini, S.N. 3.

Gh+n=gg : viggha=vighna, 'obstacle.'

J+n=ññ : aññā=ājñā, 'order.' [In *oñāta* and *avañāta*=avajāta, 'low born,' Pāt. 83, and *kolañña*=kulaja, 'high born,' Mil. 256, the roots *jan* and *jñā* are confounded.]

D+m : kudumala=kuḍmala, 'a bud.'

T+n : sapattī=sapatnī, 'hostile,' but *gahapatānī*=gṛhapatnī, 'house-wife,' *ratana*=ratna, 'jewel.'

T+m : attā and *ātumā*=ātmā, 'self;' *tumo*=tmanā, Oldenberg K.Z. xxv. 319.

Th+n=tth : abhimatthati=abhimathnāti, 'to grind.'

D+m: chadda=chadman, 'roof,' *paduma*=padma, 'lotus;' *dammi*=dadmi, 'I give.'

Dh+n : bunda=budhna, 'the root of a tree.'

Dh+m : idhuma=idhma, 'fire-wood;' *veṇudhama*=veṇudhma, 'a flute-player;' and from the same root *uddhumāyati*=uddhmā, 'to be blown up.'

P+n : pappoti and *pāpuṇāti*=prāpnoti, 'to obtain'; *supina* and *soppa*=svapna, 'sleep.'

P+m : pāpimā=pāpman, 'sinful.'

Groups containing a nasal and following explosive generally remain unchanged; the following are exceptions :

Nc becomes *ñh* in *paññāsa*=pañcāçat, 'fifty;' *ṇṇ* in *paṇṇuvim*= pañcaviṃçati, 'twenty-five,' Jāt. iii. 138; *nn* in *pannarasa,* 'fifteen,' *pannarasī,* 'the day of the full or new moon,' comp. Sinh. panas, Prāk. paṇavaṇṇā, Pischel, Beitr. iii. 245.

Nj becomes *ñh* in *viññitvā* and *viññāpetvā* from vṛñj, Suttavibh.ii. 264, but *āviñji,* Suttavibh. i. 127, *āviñjanā,* ib. 121, and with hardening of the *j* to *ch, āviñchanā,* C. v. 14, 3, 4.

Nḍ become *ṇṇ* in *puṇṇarika* = puṇḍarīka, 'lotus' in a passage of

the Ang. quoted by Oldenberg, Buddha 424; simplified in *bhāṇaka,* = bhāṇḍaka, 'a jar;' *ḍḍ* in *deḍḍubha* = duṇḍubha, 'a king of lizard'.

Mb becomes *mm* in *ammā* = ambā, 'mother;' *ārammana* = ālambana, 'support.'

When two nasals meet progressive assimilation takes place, as in *ummagga* = unmārga, 'an underground watercourse,' *ninna* = nimna, 'deep.'

Groups containing *y* generally assimilate the same to the other element. If, however, the first element is a dental the whole group passes into the palatal class. In many casas the assimilation is avoided by the insertion of an *i* or the group remains unchanged.

(1) *Gutturals* : *ussukka* = autsukya, 'zeal ;' *sokhiya* = saukhya, 'happiness; *ākhyāta*=ākhyāta, 'announced;' *yogga*=yogya, 'proper.'

(2) *Palatal* : *vuccati*=ucyate, pass. of vac; *joti*=jyotis, 'light;' *jiyā* and *jyā*=jyā, 'the bow-string;' and *adejjha*=adhijya, Jāt.iii.274.

(3) *Cetebrals* : *kuḍḍa*=kuḍya, 'a wall;' *āḍhya, aḍḍha*=āḍhya, 'rich;' *puñña*=puṇya, 'good.'

(4) *Dentals : āhacca*=āhṛtya for āhārya, 'having told;' *ūhacca*= avahadya, 'having befouled;' *ekacca*=ekatya, 'a certain,' according to Senart Mahāvastu 388, comp. *ekacciya,* M.viii. 14.2 (Childers and Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 56 derive it from ekatara); *āvajjati*=avadhyā, 'to consider;' *añña*=anya, 'other;' *cicca*=cintya for cintayitvā. The assimilation does not take place in *cetya, cetiya*=caitya, 'a relic-shrine;' *vyattaya*=vyatyaya, 'opposition;' *paṭaggi*=pratyagni, 'fire in return;' *pāṭaṅkī*=pratyaṅkin, 'a sedan chair,' M. viii. 10.3; *pāṭekka* from pratyeka, 'singly' (the regular from *pacceka* occurs frequently); *pasīdiya* =prasīdya, 'believing,' Mah. 5; in compositions with *ud* we obtain the group *yy,* as *uyyoga*=udyoga, 'departure.'

(5) *Labials* : *tappati*=tapyate, pass. of tap; *labbhati*=labhyate, pass. of labh; *lepya*=lepya, 'plastering.'

(6) After *r* we generally find epenthesis, as in *ācariya*=ācārya, 'teacher;' *suriya*=sūrya, 'sun;' and sometimes the position of the sounds is inverted so that we have the group *yir* instead of the group *riy,* as in ayira=ārya, Jāt.ii.349 *bhayirā*=bhāryā, 'wife;' *kayirā*=kuryāt optative, and *kayirati*=kriyate, passive of kar. Besides, we have cases of retrogressive and progressive assimilation; when retrogressive assimilation takes place we get the group *yy* and sometimes a single *y,*

when progressive assimilation, we obtain a single *r,* as this consonant cannot be doubled, with a long vowel before it. Instances are : *ayya*=ārya, 'noble;' *jiyyati, jīyati,* and *jīrati*=jar, 'to grow old;' *seyyasi*=çīryasi, from çar, 'to decay,' Jāt.i.174; *paripūrati*=paripūryate, 'to be filled.' The group *ry* is changed to *ll* in *vipallāsa*=viparyāsa, 'change,' Suttavibh. i.7 : *pallaṅka*=paryanka, 'couch;' *pallattha*= paryasta, 'posture,' Jāt. i.163.

L+*y* is either preserved or assimilated : *kalyāṇa* and *kallyāṇa*= kalyāna, 'fortunate.'

V+*y* is often written *by* in the beginning of a word where it represents the preposition *vi;* this is the spelling of the Burmese MSS. while the Sinhalese write *vy;* in a few instances I have found it in the middle of a word, *viz. korabya*=kauravya, Jāt. ii.3 71; *upasambyāna*= upasaṃvyāna, 'the outer garment,' Ab. 292. We also find examples of assimilation in the beginning, as *vavatthāpeti*=vyavahāpayati, 'to settle;' *vāyamati*=vyāyam, 'to struggle;' *vodaka*=vyudaka,' 'without water;' *vossajjati*=vyavasṛj, 'to relinquish.' In the middle of a word *vy* remains as in *pathavyā,* Dh. 32, or is divided by *i,* as in *puthuviyā,* Mah. 19, *puthuviyam,* Att.8; it may however also be assimilated to *bb,* as in *abbocchenna*=avyavachinna, 'unbroken,' Mil. 72; *abbohārika*= avyavahārika, Suttavibh. i. 91; *bhātubba*=bhrātṛivya, 'cousin,' Bālāvatāra, p. 36; *abhabba*=abhavya, 'unable;' *sibbati*=sīvyati, 'to sew;' *pasibbaka,* 'a bag,' from the same root. The *y* is altogether dropped in *gāvuta*= gavyūti, 'a measure of length.' The forms in *tayya*=tavya, given by the Grammarians as *ñātayya*=jñātavya, *pattayya*=prāptavya, I believe do not belong to the living language. After a sibilant we have progressive assimilation; the only exception is *ālasya* or *ālasiya*=ālasya, 'sloth,' Dh. 49.

In the group *hy* the position of the elements is reversed, so that it becomes *yh,* as *mahyaṁ*=mahyam; exceptions are *bāhya,* 'external' (also *bāhira* with change of *y* to *r*) and *etihya*=aithya, 'oral tradition,' Ascoli 244. Assimilation; takes place in *leyya*=lehya, 'to be licked;' epenthesis in *hiyyo* or *hīyo*=hyas, 'yesterday.' For *yh* in *vuyhati*=uhyate we also find *ḷh : vuḷhati* (Ascoli 244 derives this from the part. *vūḷha,* I doubt whether the form is correct).

R before an explosive is always assimilated, and if the explosive is a dental the group may become cerebral; in a few instances also the influence of the *r* is shown by aspiration:

(1) *Gutturals* : *sakkharā* = çarkarā, 'sugar,' spelt *sakkarā,* Jāt. i.

238; *vagga* = varga, 'class;' *dīgha,* =dīrgha, 'long,' with compensation; *kakkasa* = karkaça, 'rough.'

(2) *Palatals* · *accı* = arci, 'flame,' spelt *acchi* in a passage of Saṃyuttaka Nikāya quoted by Oldenberg, Buddha 434; *mucchati* = mūrchati, 'to faint;' *sajja*=sarja, 'the sal tree.'

(3) *Cerebrals* : *kaṇṇa* = karṇa, 'the ear;' *kaṇṇakita* = karṇakṛta, Suttavibh. ii. 282.

(4) *Dentals* : *pārivaṭṭaka* = parivartaka, 'a robe lent to a priest and returned by him after a period,' Pāt. 8. 13. 78, but *pārivattaka* Suttavibh. ii. 59; *āvaṭṭa*=āvarta, 'whirlpool,' Mah. 213, but *āvatta,* Jāt. i. 70; *vaṭṭaka*=vartaka, 'quail;' *vaṭṭati*=vartati, 'to be right,' but *āvattati* and *nibbattati; attha*= artha, 'reason,' but *aṭṭa,* 'lawsuit;' *kevaṭṭa*= kaivarta, 'fisher,' also spelt *keraṭṭha* in Wastergaard's Catalogue 21*a; chaḍḍeti*= chard, 'to throw away,' also spelt *chaḍḍh,* Jāt. i. 277; *partimaddati* = parimard, 'to excel,' also spelt *parimaddh,* Jāt. i. 145; *addita*=ardita, 'afflicted,' Mah. 3, but *aḍḍita,* Bv. ii. 129, *daḍḍhı*= darḍhya, 'sloth,' Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 65. A curious metathesis takes place in *gadrabha*=gardabha, 'a donkey,' but in *gaddabhaṇḍa*= gardabhāṇḍa, 'the tree Thespesia populneoides,' the assimilation is regular.

(5) *Labials* : *kappūra*=karpūra, 'camphor;' *abbuda*=arbuda, 'a high number;' *gabbha*= garbha, 'womb;' *kamma*=karma, 'action.' The group *rv* becomes *bb,* as in *pabbaha*=parvata (spelt *pappata* sometimes in Burmese MSS.); *cappeti*=carv, 'to chew,' C. 317.

(6) *Sibilants* : assimilation in *dassana*=darçana, 'sight;' epenthesis in *arisa*=arças, 'hemorrhoids;' *ārissa*=ārsha, 'ṛshiship,' Kacc. 216. The group *rsh* is turned into *h* in *kahāpana*=karshāpaṇa, *kāhiti*= kārshyati. From harsh we have a present *haṃsati,* 'to rejoice,' Suttavibh. i. 8, Kacc. 390.

(7) Before *h* we always have epenthesis, as in *arahati*=arhati, *barihisa*=arhati, 'sacrificial grass.'

R following an explosive is also generally assimilated, but here we find several instances where it is retained or a vowel is inserted ·

(1) *Gutturals* : *vakka*=vakra, 'crooked;' *khiḍḍā* (and *kīḷā*)= krīḍā, 'play,' *khuṃseti*=kruç, 'to curse,' comp. Pischel, Beitr. iii. 253; *vagga*=vyagra, 'irregular,' Oldenberg K.Z. xxv. 324; *paccaggha*= pratyagra, 'new;' with epenthesis *kiriyā*= kriyā, 'deed;' *kurūra*=krūra, 'cruel.'

(2) *Palatals* : *vajira*=vajra, 'thunder-bolt.'

(3) *Dentals* : *sattu*=çatru, 'enemy,' spelt *satthu,* Dīp, 21; *sāvitthī*=sāvitrī, M. vi. 35, 8, spelt *sāvittī,* Fausb. S. N. 75; *tattha, yattha, kattha*=tatra, yatra, kutra, 'there,' 'where,' *parattha*=paratra, 'elsewhere;' *sothiya*=çrotriya, 'a brahmin;' *sabbathattā*=sarvatratvāt, 'in every way,' according to Weber, Indische Streifen iii. 397; *haliddi*=haridrī, 'turmeric myrobolan,' Suttavibh. ii. 35, spelt *haliddhi,* C. 317. The *r* is retained in *utrāsa*=uttrāsa, 'terror,' Jāt. ii. 336, participle *utrasta*, Mil. 23, and *utrassa*, M. x. 2, 16 (*uttasati* occurs Att. 205, Jāt. i. 326, *uttasta,* Jāt. i. 414); *dudrabhi*=dundubhi, 'drum;' *yātrā*=yātrā, 'expedition;' *adrūbha,* 'undeceitful,' M. x. 2, 17 *(adūbha,* Jāt. i. 180). The group *dr* is changed to *nd* in *sanda*=sādra, 'coarse,' to *jj* in *khujja*=kshudra, 'small,' Saddhammop. 93; *dhr* to *jjh* in *gijjha*=gṛdhra 'vulture.'

(4) *Labials* : After *p* the *r* is assimilated, as in *piya*=priya, 'dear;' *pati*=prati, 'in return;' *phosituṃ* from prush, 'to sprinkle' M. vi. 14, 5, *parippositvā,* M. i. 25,15, *paripphosaka,* Gr.140. *Br* is generally retained, as in *bravīti,* from brū, 'to speak,' *brahman; bhr* is assimilated, as in *sobbha*=çvabhra 'cave;' *mr* only in the beginning of a word, as *miyyati*=mriyate; in the middle a *b* is developed out of the *m* after which the *r* disappears : *amba*=āmra, 'mango;' *tamba*=tāmra, 'copper.' *Vr* is assimilated to *v* in the beginning, and to *bb* in the middle of a word : *vajati*=vrajati, 'to go,' but *giribbaja; abbuta*=avrata or avṛta, 'undisciplined,' Dh. 47.

R, after a sibilant, is generally assimilated, as in *sāvaka*=çrāvaka, 'a pupil;' *massu*=çmaçru, 'beard;' epenthesis takes place in *siri*=çrī, 'glory;' *daḍḍha* and *uḍḍha* are=dasra and usrā according to Kacc. 333, but Weber Indische Streifen iii. 370, identifies them with daṃshṭrā and ushṭra.

Hr is assimilated in *hesa*=hresha, 'neighing;' *sateratā*=çatahradā, 'hail;' *rassa*=hrasva, 'short;' separated in *hirī*=hrī, 'shame;' but *hīḷita*=hrīta and hīḷeti, Jāt. ii. 258, *rahada*=hrada, 'pond.'

L is on the whole treated very much like *r;* before gutturals and labials it is assimilated; *vaggulī*=valgulī, 'bat,' C. vi. 2, 2, Jāt. i. 493; *kiñjakkha*=kiñjalka, 'a filament;' *kappa*=kalpa, 'time;' *pagabbha*=pragalbha, 'bold;' *jamma*= jālma, 'reckless.' Exceptions are *suṅka*=çulka, 'tribute;' *suṅkaghāta,* 'smuggling,' Suttavibh. i. 47; *gumba*=gulma, 'thicket;' *simbalī*=çālmalī, 'the silk-cotton tree.' *Lv* is assimilated

to *bb* in *kibbisa*=kilvisha, 'fault;' to *ll* in *khallāṭa*=khalvāṭa, 'bald;' *billa* and *bella,* Jāt. iii. 76, =vilva, 'the Vilva tree,' but *beluva*=vailva.

L after gutturals and labials is generally separted by *i*, as in *kilissati*=kliçati (but *parikissati,* Fausb. S. N. xi); *kilomaka*=kloman, 'the pleura,' Mil. 26; *klesa,* without epenthesis, occurs Dh. v. 88; *pilavati*=plavati, Dh. 59, Dīp. 56; *vipalāvita,* Jāt. i. 326; *piluvati,* Mah. 230; *pilakkha*=plaksha, 'ficus infectoria,' Suttavibh ii. 35, Jāt. iii. 24; *pilotikā*=plota, 'a cloth;' *pihaka*=plīhan, 'the spleen;' *ambila*= amla, 'sour;' *milakkha*=mleccha, 'a barbarian,' originally mlaska.

Rl gives *ll,* as in *dullabha*=durlabha, 'difficult to obtain.'

L after sibilants and *h* is generally separated by *i,* as in *silāghā*= çlāghā, 'praise;' *silesuma* and *semha*=çleshman, 'phlegm;' *kilādati*= hlād, 'to be glad.'

V after gutturals, palatals and cerebals, is assimilated, as in *pakka*=pakva; 'ripe;' *kaṭhati*=kvath, 'to boil;' (also written *kuth,* Vinaya texts, ii. 57, and *koddh,* Dh. 155), *jalati*=jvalati, 'to blaze;' *kiṇṇa*=*kiṇya,* 'yeast.'

After dentals it is also generally assimilated, as in *cattāro*= catvāras, 'four;' *taco*=tvac, 'bark,' 'skin,' comp., however, *saṇhavāka*= çlakshṇatvak, Dh. 412; it remains unchanged in the suffix tvā or tvāṇa, in *iritvija*=ṛtvij, 'the officiating priest;' and in the pronoun of the second person *tvaṃ,* which is also found as *tuvaṃ* and *taṃ. Tv* is changed into *cc* in *caccara*=catvara, 'court;' *anuvicca*=anuviditvā (comm. jānitvā), Dh. 41, Jāt.i. 459, Fausb. S.N.xi.91. *Dv* is assimilated in *dīpa*=dvīpa, 'island;' *uddāpa*=udvāpa, 'foundation of a wall' Mahāparin. 11; *ubbāsiyati*=udvas, 'to chase;' which is the correct reading at Mah. 45 for *ubbāhiyati;* it reamains unchanged in *dve,* 'two' (also *duve,* but *bā*=dvā in *bārasa,* 'twelve'); *dvāra,* 'door;' *advejjha*=advaiḍhya, 'sincere,' Bv. ii. 110. *Dhv* is assimilated to *ddh,* as in *addhā*=adhvan, 'road;' to *jjh* in *majjhāru,* M. v.13,6, probably= madhvālu, 'yam.' *Nv* is changed to *mm* in *dhammantari*=dhanavantari, Mil. 272; *daḷhadhamma*=dṛḍhadhanva, Trenckner, P. M. 60 (but *gaṇḍīvadhanvā,* Kacc. 182), comp. Prāk. dhamma, 'bow,' Pāiyal. 37.

After a sibilant *v* is generally assimilated, as in *ass*=açva, 'a horse;' *sāmi*=svāmin, 'lord,' but also *suvāmi,* Fausb. S.N. xi., *suvāmini,* Jāt.iii.288; it reamains unchanged in *svāna* (or *sāna, suvāna*), =çvā, 'a dog;' *sve* (and *suve*), =çvas, 'tomorrow;' *ehisvāgata,* 'come and be

welcome,' C. i. 13, 3, Suttavibh. i. 181. Epenthesis in *suvatthi*=svasti, 'welfare.'

Hv undergoes metathesis like *hy,* as in *jivhā*=jihvā, 'tongue; somedtimes it becomes *bbh,* as in *gabbhara*=gahvara, 'a cavern.'

A sibilant preceding or following an explosive is assimilated by the same and generally produces aspiration of the group.

Ksh is mostly changed to *kkh* or *cch*, as in *cakkhu*=cakshus, 'eye;' *gavakkha,* 'bull's eye,' but *gavacchita,* Jāt. i. 60; *rukkha* and *vaccha*=vṛksha, 'a tree,' Mil. 209, Suttavibh. i. 179; *khudda*=kshudra, 'small' (*chudda,* 'mean,' is not the same word, but participle to the root *chubh*=kshiv, Trenckner, Mil. 130), *khamā*=kshamā, 'patience' and 'earth;' in the laster signification also *chamā*, comp. Hem. ii. 18; *akkocchi*=akrukahīt √kruç, Kacc. 13. Sometimes the aspiration is dropped, as in *Takkasilā*=Takshaçilā, 'a city in the Punjab;' *ikka*= ṛksha, 'a bear' (also written *isa* and *isa* in Abhidhānapp.), *Okkāka*= Ikshvāku. *Patissā,* 'obedience,' is = pratīkshā according to Senart Mahāvastu 516; *appatissavāsa* occurs Jāt. ii. 352.

Ts and *ps* generally become *cch,* as in *jighacchā* = jighatsā, 'hunger;' *chāta,* 'hungry, desirous,' and its opposite *nicchāta,* Fausb. S. N. 143, from psā, *saṃvacchara* (and *vacchara*, Saddhammop. v. 239)= saṃvatsara, 'year;' *bībhacca* = bībhatsa, 'loathsome;' and from the same root *nibbhaccheti,* 'to rebuke,' Jāt. ii. 338. Exceptions are most of the roots beginning with *s* when composed with the preposition *ut,* which gives the gtoup *ss,* as *ussada*=utsada, 'desire,' Fausb. S. N. 149, generally used in the compound *ussadaniraya,* where Burnouf translates it 'protuberance,' comp. Mahāvastu 372; and the verb *ussādiyati,* 'to be spoiled,' C. vi. 11,3, Suttavibh. ii. 99. We find, however, also the regular form *ucchadeti,* Mil. 214; *ucchādana,* 'rubbing the body with perfumes,' Gr. 10, Mil. 315; *ucchaṅga*=utsaṅga, 'the hip.'

Çc becomes *cch,* as in *niccharati*=niçcar, 'to proceed.' An exception is *niccitta* (for *niccita,* corr.) 'thoughtless,' Dh. 173, Jāt. ii. 298.

Shk and *sk* generally become *kkh,* as *nikkha* or *nekkhà*=nishka 'golden ornament.' Exceptions are most of the roots beginning with *k* when composed with the preposition *nis*, which in Sanskrit must result in *skh*, but in Pāli only gives *kk, e.g., nikkaḍḍhati,* 'to expel,'=nishkṛsh; we have, however, the group *kkh* in *nekkhamma*=naishkāmya, 'abandonment of desires,' Vinaya texts, i. 104; and in *nikkhamati*=nishkram, 'to

depart' (*nikkam* only Mil. 245, Kh. 8); *takkara*=taskara, 'a thief;' *Avakkāra*=avaskā in avakkārapātī, 'slop-basin,' M. iv. 1.2.

Shṭ and *shṭh* become *ṭṭh* in *bhaṭṭha*=bhrashṭa, 'fallen' and= bhṛshṭa, 'fried;' *paṭṭha*=prashṭha, 'clever' (Buddhagh. *cheka, samattha)* Suttavibh. i. 210. ii. 60, 254, *maṭṭha* and *maṭṭa*=mṛshṭa 'polished;' *vaṭṭa*=vṛshṭa, from *vassati,* 'to rain' (*vuṭṭha*, Jāt. ii. 484); *aṭṭaka*= ashṭaka (Buddh. *aḍḍhaka*), Suttavibh. i. 81; *leḍḍu*=leshṭu 'a clod of earth.'

St and *sth* generally become *tth,* as in *adhivattha*=adhivasta, 'living on' *(adhivuttha,* Mahāparin. 23), *parivattha,* and *parivuttha; apattha*=apāsta, 'thrown away,' Dh. 27; *pattha*=prastha, 'a measure of capacity;' *aṭṭhi*=arthi, 'bone.' *Tt* in *niratta*=nirasta, 'rejected,' Fausb. S. N. 150; *hīyattana*=hyastana, 'yesterday's'; *bhaddamutta*=bhadra-musta, 'Cyperus rotundus,' M. vi. 3, 1; *nettiṃsa*=nistriṃça, 'merciless,' Jāt.ii. 77; *urattāliṃ*=urastāḍam, 'beating the breast,' Mil. 11. *St* remains in *viddhasta*=vidhavasta, 'broken;' it becomes ss in *vassa*=basta, 'goat,' but also *bhasta,* Jāt. iii. 278.

Shp and *sp* generally become *pph,* as in *puppha*=pushpa, 'a flower ;' *nipphala*=nishphala, 'fruitless;' *pp* in *bappa* or *vappa*= bāshpa, 'a tree,' M.x. 2, 13; *vanappati*=vanaspati, 'a tree,' *duppūra*= dushpūra, 'difficult to fill,' Dh. 392; *nippāpa*=nishpāpa, 'sinless,' Dh. 37; *poṭṭabba* for *phoṭṭhabba*, 'contact,' Jāt.ii.81; *appoṭheti*=āsphoṭ ayati, 'to snap the fingres.'

Groups of nasals with sibilants can either be assimilated or remain unchanged, or insert a vowel beween the nasal and the sibilant, or change the sibilant to *h* with metathesis.

Çn and *sn : pañha*=praçna, 'question,' and *paripañhati,* 'to consider', *sināna* and *nahāna*=snāna, 'bathing;' for *sināni,* 'powder' Assalāyanasutta 13 comp. *snānīya*=cūrṇa, Pāṇini 3, 3, 113 school.

Shṇ : uṇha=ushṇa, 'hot,' bot *sītunnaka* for *sītuṇhaka,* M. viii. 10, 2; *taṇhā* and *tasiṇā*=tṛshṇā, 'thirst;' *osaṇhati*, C. v. 2, 3, is a derivative from *saṇha*=çlakshṇa, 'smooth'

Çm, shm, sm : sita, mihita=smita, 'smile;' *massu*=çmaçru, 'beard;' *gimha*=grishma, 'summer;' *asman*=açman, 'stone,' but amhanā, Fausb. S. N. 71; *amhe*=asme, 'us,' but *asme,* Jāt. iii. 359; *usmā*=ushman, 'heat,' Mil. 153; *bhasma* and *bhesma*=bhīsma, C. vii. 4, 8, Ab. 167; *raṃsi* and *rasmi*=raçmi, 'beam;' *pamussati,* 'to forget,' is derived by S. Goldschmidt, K.Z. xxv. 437, from a root smṛsh, to which also belongs

Prāk. Pamhusaï, pamhuṭṭha, Hem. iv. 75, 184, 258; and this derivation seems to be confirmed by the spelling *pammuṭṭha* and *pammussitvā,* Dh. 247, 248, Jāt. iii. 511.

The groups *hṇ, hm,* generally show metathesis, as *gaṇhāti*=gṛhṇāti, 'to take;' *jimhu*=jihma, 'crooked,' spelt *jima,* Jāt. i. 290; *hn* becomes *nt* in *majjhantika* for majjhahnika, 'midday.'

The rules of the changes of three or more consonants are, on the whole, the same as those concerning two consonants which have just been laid down. When assimilation takes place an explosive prevails over the other consonants; *sattha*=çastra, 'a weapon,' but fem. *sattī*=çastrī, 'a knife;' *uddha* and *ubbha*=ūrdhva, 'high;' *tikkhiṇa, tikka* and *tiṇha*=tīkshṇa, 'sharp;' *kasiṇa*=kṛtsna, 'entire,' but *subhakiṇha* or °*kiṇṇa*=çubha-kṛtsna; *dosina* and *junhā*=jyotsna, jyotsnā, 'a moonlit night;' *anupakhajja*=anupraskandja,' 'having occupied;' *utplāvita*=utplāvita, 'floated,' Mah. 230; *bhastā*=bhastrā, 'bellows,' is only known from Abhibhānapp.

Rdr is changed to *ll* in *alla*=ārdra, 'wet,' Prāk. alla, olla or ulla, Hem. i. 82, but we find also *adda,* Jāt. i. 244, and *addā*=ārdrā, 'name of a Nakshatra,' 'Ab. 58, *addaka*=ārdraka, 'green ginger,' Ab. 459; *rdhr* becomes *ddh* in *vaddha*=vardhra, 'leather,' Jāt.ii. 154, Ang.p.110.

Tty and *ttr,* where they are not assimilated, are simplified into *ty* and *tr* or *tt*, as in *ratyā* instr. of *ratti*=rātri, 'night;' *vimuttāyatana*=vimukti+āyatana, 'point of emencipation;'*utrāsa* and *utrasta,* or *uttāsa* and *uttasta*=uttrāsa, uttrasta, *satra*=sattra, 'sacrifice;' *udriyati,* M. iii. 8, 1, Suttavibh. i. 254, stands for uddriyati, 'to split open,' and the substantive *udrīyanaṃ* occurs Jāt. i.72.

13. Rules on Sandhi

The rules on sandhi in Pāli may be divided into rules on vowel-sandhi, and rules on mixed sandhi where a vowel and a consonant are concerned. Consonantal sandhi does not occur in Pāli. All the rules we are about to give only deal with the so-called external sandhi, as the rules on internal sandhi from a part of the phonetics we have given above. We only speak here about the sandhi of words, the sandhi of compounds belonging to the chapter on the formation of the stem.

Word-sandhi is not imperative in Pāli as in Sanskrit; it only takes place in certain cases, and the MSS. vary greatly as to its use or neglect. In prose it is almost confined to indeclinables and pronouns, in juxtaposition or in connection with a verb or a noun, as *e.g.*, *my ayaṃ*=me

ayaṃ, *yan nūna*=yad nūna, *tasseva*=tassa eva, *tatth Ānanda*, etc. The particles that are almost regulary found in sandhi are *ca*, *iti (ti)*, *api (pi)*, *eva*, as *kathañ ca*=kathaṃ ca, *kiñcid eva*=kiñci eva, *tathāpi*=tathā api, etc. The negative *na*, followed by a vowel, generally loses its a, as *n' atthi*, *n' eva*, *nāhosi*, which Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 81, prefers writing *na tthi*, as though the root *as* had lost its initial *a*. So he also writes *tāva 'ham*, *eva 'ham* Mil. 219; *tattha 'ham* and *nāma 'ham*, and the same with *ayaṃ*, although *nāmāhaṃ* and *nāmāhaṃ* are equally frequent.

The other cases of word-sandhi in prose, without any indeclinable or pronoun, are divided by Childers into three categories : (1) a vocative beginning with a vowel is preceded by a word ending in a vowel, as *gacch'āvuso, pañcah' Upāli, āyām' Ānanda*; (2) a verb is preceded or followed by a noun in grammatical relation with it, as *utthāyāsanā, āsanā vuṭṭhāya, upajjhāyass' ārocesum;* (3) two nouns are in grammatical relation, as *dukkhass' antaṃ, dvīh' ākārehi.*

In verse word-sandhi is much more frequent than in prose, under the influence of metrical exigeney; in later texts, like Dīpavaṃsa, Mahāvaṃsa, Buddhavaṃsa, Cariyāpiṭaka, and especislly Khuddasikkhā, it is not uncommon that whole syllables disappear in a sandhi where it is required by the metre, as *e.g. chaṅgula=chaḍaṅgula*, Mah. 211; *dasahassī=dasasahassī*, Bv. xiii. 21; *ticattārīsahassāni*, Bv. xvi.15.

I. *Vowel Sandhi*

A+a, *ā* followed by a single consonant gives *ā*, as *nāhosi=na+ahosi*, *nāsakkhi=na+asakhi;* if a double consonant follows the *a* remains short, and an apostrophe is put generally after the terminating consonant of the first word, to show that a vowel has been dropped, as in *n' atthi=na atthi*, *pan' aññaṃ=pana aññaṃ*. In a few instances we find long *ā* before a double consonant, as *nāssa=na assa*, Dh.23, comp. above the chapter on the quantity of vowels, p. 9. A short *a* before a single consonant occurs also in a few instances , as *c' ahaṃ*, Jāt i. 3; *n' ahosi=na ahosi*, Dh.155.

A or *ā+i* or *ī* gives *e*, as in Skt., *e.g. kokilāyeva=kokilāya+iva*, *neresi=na īresi*. An exception is *iti*, which always gives *āti* with a preceding a, *e.g. Tissāti=Tissa iti; i* is elided by *a* preceding *a* in *yena 'me=yena ime*, *pana 'me=pana ime; ā+i* sometimes gives *ī*, as *seyyathīdaṃ=seyyathā idaṃ.*

A or *ā+u* or *ū* gives *o*, as in *nopeti=na upeti*, *pakkhandito-*

dadhuṃ=pakkhandutā udadhiṃ, Mah. 117. Seldom we find *ū* instead, as *cūbhayaṃ=ca ubhayaṃ.*

A is frequently elided by *i* or *u* whether followed by a conjunct consonant or not, as in *passath' imaṃ=passatha imaṃ, yass' indriyāni= yassa indriyāni.*

A is generally elided before *e, o* : *gaṇhath' etaṃ=gaṇhatha etaṃ, iv' otataṃ=iva otataṃ.*

Ā sometimes elides a following *i, u* or *e* in *eva* : *disvā' panissa-yam=disvā upanissayaṃ sutvā' va=sutvā eva,* Das. 4. Generally *ā* is elided before a long vowel or before a short vowel followed by a conjunct consonant : *tath' eva=tathā eva, tay' ajja=tayā ajja,* seldom before a short vowel followed by a single consonant : *muñcitv' ahaṃ=muñcitvā aham;* ā Jāt. i. 13.

I is generally elided before short or long vowels, as *gacchām' ahaṃ=gachāmi ahaṃ, idān' ime=idāni ime, dasah' upāgata=dasahi upāgata, dvīh' ākārehī=dvīhi ākārehi,* etc. Sometimes it remains elides the following vowel : *phalanti 'saniyo = phalanti asaniyo, idāni'ssa= idani assa; i+a* occasionally gives *ā* : *kiñcāpi=kiñci api, pāhaṃ=pi ahaṃ.*

Ī is seldom elided : *tuṇh' assa=tuṇhī assa;* at Jāt. iii. 414,we have *dassāhaṃ=dāsī+ahaṃ.*

I + i gives *ī* : *palujjīti=palujji iti,* Par. 40. *I* preceded by *t (tt)* and followed by another vowel may become *y* : *jīvanty elaka=jīvanti elaka, guty atha=gutti atha.* Generally, however, the group *ty* is changed to *cc,* especially when the first word is *iti* : *iccevaṃ=ity evaṃ.* The corresponding change of *dy* to *jj* is not attested by good authority. *Api* followed by a vowel may become *app* through an intermediate *apy* : *app eva=api eva; itv, tv* for *iti, ti* is most probably only a corrupt spelling.

U is elided before a vowel : *samet' āyasmā=sametu āyasmā, tās' eva=tāsu eva.* Rarely it elides a following vowel : *nu' ttha=nu attha, kinnu' mā=kinnu imā. U+i* sometimes gives *ū* : *sādhūti=sādhu+iti.* Before *a* or *e* it can be changed to *v* : *vatthv ettha=vatthu ettha, sesesv ayaṃ=sesesu ayaṃ.*

E may be elided before a long vowel or before a short vowel followed by a conjunct consonant : *m' āsi=me āsi, sac' assa=sace assa;* sometimes it elides a following vowel : *te' me=te ime, sace' jja=sace ajja,re' yya=re ayya,* Mil.124; occasionally *e+a* gives *ā,* as *sacāyaṃ=sace+ayaṃ,* Dh.140, 165; but the *e* can also be turned

into *y*, as if were *i*, and an *a* following lengthened by compensation when a single consonant follows : *tyāhaṃ=te aham, myāyam=me ayaṃ, ty ajja=te ajja;* exception, *tyāssa=te assa.*

O is elided before a long vowel or a short vowel followed by a double consonant : *kut' ettha=kuto ettha, tay' assu=tayo assu, tat' uddhaṃ=tato uddhaṃ.* It elides a following vowel in *so'haṃ=so ahaṃ=so ahaṃ, cattāro' me=caitāro ime,* etc. *O+a* gives *ā* : *dukkhāyaṃ=dukkho ayaṃ,* Jāt. i.168. *O* can also be turned into *v* (as *e* into *y*) and an initial *a* lengthened if followed by a single consonant : *yvāhaṃ=yo ahaṃ, khvassa=kho assa, yveva=yo eva :* exceptions, *svāssu=so assu,* Jāt.i,196; *khvāssa=kho assa,* Payoga Siddhi.

Euphonic consonants are often inserted when two vowels meet, to avoid a hiatus; especially the semi-vowels *y* and *v* are used for this purpose.

Y is inserted between a word terminating in *a* or *ā*, when followed by *idaṃ* or any of the oblique cases of this pronoun which begins with *i : na yidaṃ, mā yime=mā ime, yathayidaṃ=yathā idaṃ* with shortening of the *ā*. The same process takes place with *eva* and *iva,* which latter, however, is changed to *viya* by metathesis. When *a, ā* is followed by *u, ū, v* may be inserted for euphony : *bhantā vudikkhati= bhantā udikkhati.*

Sometimes a euphonic *m* is inserted between two vowels : *idham-āhu=idha āhu, pauigaṇiya-m-asesam=pariganiya asesaṃ,* Girimānandasutta in Paritta, *kapi-m-āgantvā,* Cariy. ii. 5,4; or *r* it the following word is *iva : āragge-r-iva=āragge iva, sāsapo-r-iva=sāsapo iva, sikhā-r-iva=sikhā iva,* Mahāsamayas. 21. Final *ā* is shortened before this *r* in *yatha-r-iva, tatha-r-iva=yathā eva, tathā eva,* Kacc.19.

In a great many cases a lost consonant is revived to avoid the hiatus, as in *yasmād apeti*=yasmād apeti, *kocid eva*=kaçcid eva, *tunhīm āsina*=tūshṇīm āsīna, *vuttir esā*=vṛttir eshā, *chaṭabhiññā*= shaḍabhijñā, *puthag eva*=pṛthag eva, *pag eva*=prāg eva, with shortening of the *ā, sammadaññā*=samyag ājñā, with change of *g* to *d,* and *anvad*= anvak in a passage of the Maggasaṃyutta quoted by Morris, 'Report on Pāli literature,' p. 5. *Dhir atthu,* Jāt. i. 59, stands for *dhig atthu, vijjur eva* for *vijjud eva.* Jāt.iii.464 we have *jīvar eva* for *jīvann eva; attadatha* stands for *attanattha*=ātman+artha, *satthud anvaya* for *satthur anvaya, punad eva* for *punar eva.*

II. *Mixed Sandhi*

Original double consonants simplified by assimilation at the beginning of a word, can again be doubled after a word terminating in a vowel : *yatra tthitaṃ=yatra thitaṃ* for yatra sthitam. This is often done in verse when a long syllable is required.

In a few cases a lost final consonant is revived before a consonant, as *yāvañ c' idaṃ=yāva ca idaṃ, suhanus sahā,* Jat. ii. 31, *tayas su=trayas svid,* Kh. 9.

As we have seen above, p. 31, sometimes anusvāra stands for an original consonant, and in this case before a vowel it is liable to be replaced by the original consonant. Sanskrit becomes *sakiṃ* in Pāli, but before a vowel we have *sakid;* in the same way we have *tad* for *taṃ, yad* for *yaṃ,* etc.

In verse when a short syllable is required, anusvāra can be elided before a consonant : *no ce muñceyya' candımaṃ* for *muñceyyaṃ* Candaparitta, *ākaṅkha virāgaṃ* for *ākaṅkhaṃ.* Dh. v. 343. Or else the whole syllable may be dropped, as in *rajovajall' ukkuṭikappamānaṃ* as the metre requires, Dh.v. 141; *piyān' adassanaṃ* for *piyānaṃ,* Dh.v. 210; *pāpan' akaraṇaṃ,* for *pāpānaṃ,* v 333; *nipajj' ahaṃ* for *nıpajjiṃ,* Jāt. i. 13. When the anusvāra is dropped the remaining a can be contraced with a following *a* to *ā,* as in *saccāhaṃ=satyaṃ ahaṃ.* Suttavibh. i. 190; *labheyyāhaṃ=labheyyaṃ ahaṃ,* Parin. 59; *ıdāham=idaṃ+ahaṃ* in the phrase *ekam idāhaṃ samayaṃ* comp. Oldenberg, K. Z. xxv. 325.

Only in late texts an anusvāra can elide a following vowel, as *cīrassaṃ' dhunā* for *adhunā, vassantaṃ 'malakam* in two passages from Pāli Burmese books quoted by Oldenberg, 'India Office Catalogue, p. 121,' *sovaṇṇamayaṃ 'nuññātaṃ* for *anuññātaṃ,* Khuddasikkhā, xxxvi. 15.

14. Declension

We distinguish in Pāli, as in Sanskrıt, stems ending in vowels and stems ending in consonants, and according to this division the whole declension of substantives and adjectives is arranged. It must however be remarked, that the vowel stems have largely encroached upon the consonantal stems, and that only fragments of a consonantal inflexion have remained. Especially consonantal stems identical with roots, which are frequent enough in Sanskrit, have almost totally disappeared from Pāli, and have been replaced by dissyllabic stems increased by the

addition of a vowel. A careful investigation of the old texts has only yielded the following instances of consonantal root- stems : *taco,* pl. of tvac,' 'skin,' Dh. 111, Kh. 3; *pādā* instr. of pad, 'foot,' Dh. *vācā,* instr. of vāc, 'speech.' Kh. 9; *pamudi,* loc. of pramud, 'joy', Gr. 139; *parisati* and *parisatiṃ,* Suttavibh. ii. 285, loc. of parishad, 'assembly,'

There are two possibilities of turning these consonantal stems into vowel-stems : (1) The terminating consonant is dropped, and the word passes into the declension of that vowel which how stands at the end, *e.g. upanisā*=upanishad; *āpā*=āpad, Jāt. ii. 317, which are inflected like feminine *ā*-stems; *āsi*=āçis, 'blessing,' 'inflected like an *i*-stem; *maru*=marut, name of a 'deva,' inflected like an *u*-stem. (2) The stem is increased by addition of an *a* (which may represent originally the termination of the acc. sing., comp. however Pischel, Beitr. iii. 262), and the word is now inflected like an *a-stem,* masculine, feminine or neuter, according to the gender of the original noun. Such instances are *kita*=kṛt, and *visagata* for *visakata*=vishakṛt, Suttavibh. i. 80; *tivutā*=trivṛt, name of a 'plant;' *barihisa*=barhis, 'sacrificial grass.' Sometimes the gender is changed is changed, as in *sarado* m. 'year' = çarad f. comp. Piscel gramm. Prāc. 5; Beiter. iii. 240. Change of gender is very frequent in Pāli, as for instance in *vacībheda,* Khudda-sikkhā xl. 1, we have instead of *ā* the thematic vowel *ī,* and as this is also found in some other compound *A* do not believe that *vaci* is a locative like tvaci in tvacisāra, Pāṇ. vi. 3, 9; comp. Jaınaprāk. vatījoa Beitr. 5. *Āp* is generally used in the nom. pl. *āpo,* we find however a gen. *āpassa,* Mil. 363.

Only very few vestiges of the dual occur in the texts known to us at present : to *idh' āgato,* 'these two having come,' Dīp. 56; *ubho*= ubhau, Dh. v. 74, 306; *mātāpitu,* 'father and mother,' Cariy. ii. 9, 7, if this does not stand for the acc. °pitṛīn. Generally, the plural replaces the dual even in such cases as *jayampatī* and *tudampatī,* 'man and wife,' where the meaning clearly points to a duality.

I. ***Vowel Bases***

Masculine and Neuter in *a.*

Dhamma, 'The Law'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*dhammo.*	*dhammā, dhammāse*
Voc.	*dhamma, dhammā.*	*dhammā.*
Acc.	*dhammaṃ.*	*dhamme.*
Instr.	*dhammena.*	*dhammebi, dhammehi.*

Dat.	*dhammassa (dhammāya).*	*dhammānaṃ.*
Abl.	*dhammā, dhammasmā, dhammamhā.*	*dhammebhi, dhammehi.*
Gen.	*dhammassa.*	*dhammānaṃ.*
Loc.	*dhamme, dhammasmiṃ, dhammamhi.*	*dhammesu.*

Rūpa, 'The Image'

	Singular	Plural
Nom. Voc.	*rūpaṃ.*	*rūpāni, rūpā.*
Acc.		*rūpāni, rūpe.*
Instr.	*rūpena.*	*rūpebhi, rūpehi.*
Dat.	*rūpassa (rūpāya).*	*rūpānaṃ.*
Abl.	*rūpā, rūpasmā, rūpamhā.*	*rūpebhi, rūpehi.*
Gen.	*rūpassa.*	*rūpānaṃ.*
Loc.	*rūpe, rūpasmiṃ, rūpamhi.*	*rūpesu.*

The form given in the table as *dative* is, properly speaking, the genitive = Skt. dharmasya, rūpasya, which has taken up the function of dative in Pāli. The old dative in *āya*, which I have given in paranthesis, is only used to denote the intention, and is almost synonmous with an infinitive; only few instances occur where the dative has a terminative meaning as Dh.v. 174, *saggāya gacchati,* 'goes to heaven,' and Dh.v. 311, *nirayāya upakaḍḍhati,* 'brings to hell,' comp. Pischels remarks, Beitr. zur kunde d. indog. Spr.i. 111, 119; *lokānukampāya = lokam anukampituṃ,* 'through compassion for the world;' *na patthaye nirayaṃ dassanāya,* 'I do not wish to see the hell.' Especially the dative *atthāya* is used frequently with the meaning 'for the good of, for the sake of,' a in *Buddhassa atthāya jīvitm parivvajāmi,* 'for Buddha's sake I will say down my life,' comp. Childers, s.v. We have also an abridged from *atthā* used in the same sense, *e.g.* in *bhojanatthā,* 'for the sake of food,' Jāt iii.425. Other instances of this abridged dative are *esanā = esanāya,* 'in search of', Ten Jāt. 48, 81; *anāpucchā* = anāpucchāya, 'without asking leave,' comp. *paripucchāya,* Mil. 93; *lābhā* in such sentences as *lābhā vata no,* 'this is for our advantage,' which Childers explained as a dative, is in reality a nom. fem. identical with the masc. *lābha,* comp. Senart Mahāvastu 550.

The ablative stands for the instrumental in *javā,* 'speedily,' Dīp. 23; and *ahiṃsā,* 'throught Pity ,' Dh. v. 270. The suffix *sā* is very often

also used to denote an instr., as in *vāhasā,* 'by dint of,' Mil. 379; Suttavibh. ii. 158 (comp. the v. l.); *talasā,* 'by the sole of the foot' (com. *pādatalena*), Jāt. ii. 223; *rasasā,* 'by taste,' Jāt. iii. 328; *bilasā, padasā,* Kacc. 91; *basā,* 'by force,' Cariy. ii. 4,7.

In the ablative the terminations in *dhammasmā, dhammamhā* and in the loc., *dhammasmim, dhammamhi,* are taken from the pronominal inflection. Besides, we have two other terminations for the ablative, *to* = skt. tas, and *so* = ças, which occur mostly in later texts, but also in a few instances in the Jātaka and Dhp. Instances are *gaṇanāto,* 'by number,' Jāt. i. 29; *cāpāto,* 'from the bow,' Dh. v. 320; devato, 'from a deva,' Bv. xvi. 7; *orato pāraṃ gacchati, pārato oram āgacchati* 'goes from this end of the field to the further end and back again from the end to this,' Jāt. i. 57 *mettāto,* 'from friendship,' Saddhammop. v. 487, 489. With *so* we have *bhāgaso,* 'by portion,' Mil. 330; *parivattaso*, 'by turns,' Mahāparin. 60; *tīṇi yojanaso,* 'three yojanas wide,' Bv. xxi. 24.

In the locative the forms in *e* and in *smiṃ* or *mhi* are almost equally frequent already in earlier texts, see Torp, Die Flexion des Pāli, p. 18. The forms *bilasi* and *padasi* given by Kacc. 91 do not occur anywhere else. The locative is used instead of a dative in *brāhmaṇe,* Cariy.i.9, 47.

In the nom. pl. of the masculine we hace a form in *āse* which corresponds to the vedic nom. pl. in *āsas,* as *paṇḍitāse,* 'the learned,' Fausb. S. N. xi. 167 ; *rukkhāse,* 'the trees,' Jāt. iii. 399, comp. Oldenberg, K.Z. xxv. 315.

The acc. pl. of the masculines in *e* is somewhat difficullt to explain : Kuhn compares it to the vedic pronominal forms *asme, yushme,* which are used likewise for the nominative and accusative, and refers to the explanation offered by Schleicher, Compendium p. 611 for these forms ; comp. Torp; p. 19, S. Goldschmidt, K.Z. xxv. 438.

The instr. pl. in *ebhi* or *ehi* quite corresponds to the vedic form in *ebhis* (or to the ablative in *ebhyas,* as the forms are the same in Pāli). Instances for the form in *bhi* are given by Oldenberg, K.Z. xxv. 316, 317. In old texts we find besides a form in *e* corresponding to the instr. of the classical Sanskrit in *ais,* for inst. *vanīpake,* used as a dative, 'to the beggars,' Cariy. i. 4, 9; *yācake*, ib. i.8, 12; *adhane āture jiṇṇe yācake pāṭṭhike jane samaṇabrahmaṇe khīṇe deti dānaṃ akiñcane,* ib. i. 1, 9; *guṇe dasah' upāgataṃ*, instr., Jāt. i. 6.

In the plural of the neuter we have the regular form *cittāni* for nom., and acc., and besides *rūpā* for the nom., and *rūpe* for the acc.,

which are both taken from the masculine declension. Thus, we have *satte dukkhā pamocayi*, 'he released the beings from pain,' Mah. 2; *pāṇe vihiṃsati*, v. 1. for *pāṇāni hiṃsati*, 'he hurts living creatures,' Vasala sutta v. 2. The same confusion of gender occurs in *pabbatāni*, Dh. v. 188 (probably through attraction from *vanāni*), in *dukkhā*, 'sorrow,' which may be used as neuter and masc., and (according to Fausböll), even as fem.

In the locative pl. Childers gives a form *milakkhusu* form *milakkha*, 'a barbarian,' but without any reference.

Feminine in *ā*

Kaññā, 'The Girl'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*kaññā.*	*kaññā, kaññāyo.*
Voc.	*kaññe.*	*kaññā, kaññāyo.*
Acc.	*kaññaṃ.*	*kaññā, kaññāy.*
Instr.	*kaññāya.*	*kaññā, kaññhi.*
Dat.	*kaññā.*	*kaññānaṃ.*
Abl.	*kaññāya.*	*kaññābhi, kaññāhi.*
Gen.	*kaññā.*	*kaññānaṃ.*
Loc.	*kaññāyaṃ, kaññāya.*	*kaññāsu.*

In the vocative we have the following exceptions : *ammā, annā, ambā, tātā*, all signifying 'mother,' form the voc. like the nom., Kacc. p. 64 ; of *ammā*, we have besides a voc. *amma*, frequent in Dh. The loc. *kaññāya* is taken from the genitive. For the nom. pl. in *ā* and *āyo*, comp. Oldenberg, K.Z.xxv. 317.

Masculine and Neuter in *i*

Aggi, 'The Fire'

	Singular	Plural
N. & V.	*aggi.*	*aggayo, aggī.*
Acc.	*aggiṃ.*	*aggī, aggayo.*
Instr.	*agginā.*	*aggībhi, aggīhi.*
Dat.	*aggino, aggissa.*	*aggīnaṃ.*
Abl.	*agginā, aggismā, aggimhā.*	*aggībhi, aggīhi.*
Gen.	*aggino, aggismā.*	*aggīnaṃ.*
Loc.	*aggismiṃ, aggimhi.*	*aggīsu.*

Akkhi, 'The Eye'

	Singular	Plural
N. & V.	*akkhi, akkiṃ.*	*akkhīni, akkhī.*
Acc.	*akkiṃ.*	*akkhīni, akkhī.*
Instr.	*akkhinā.*	*akkhībhi, akkhīhi.*
Dat.	*akkhino, akkhissa.*	*akkhīnaṃ.*
Abl.	*akkhinā, akkhismā, akkhimhā.*	*akkhībhi, akkhīhi.*
Gen.	*akkhismā, akkhissa.*	*akkhīnaṃ.*
Loc.	*akkhismiṃ.*	*akkhīsu.*

A voc. *ise,* corresponding to the Skt. ṛshe, occurs in Rūpasiddhi, and Jāt. xix. 1, 2. A gen. *mune,* is given by Oldenberg, K.Z. xxv. 318. The ancient loc. in *o,* is only formed from the stem *ādi,* according to Kacc. 41, *ādo* and *ādu,* Dh. 96 ; a loc. *gire,* after the analogy of the *a*-stems, occurs Jāt. iii. 157. An instr. after the same analogy is *buddharaṃsena,* Bv. x. 28. Besides, we very often, especially in Dīp., find the simple stem used for almost any case of the sing., see Oldenberg, K.Z. xxv. 318.

A nom. pl. *aggino* is found Saddhammop. v. 586, together with the regular from *aggayo.* In the oblique cases of the plural we only find the short *i* occasionally in verses, as *ñātihi, paṭisanthāravuttinaṃ,* Dh.146.

Instances of the nominative accusative of neuters in *ṃ,* formed after the analogy of the *a*-stems are not very frequent, but numerous enough to show that the from really exists : *akkhiṃ,* Dh. 140; *aṭṭhiṃ,* Das. J. 5, 12. The nominative plural *akkhī,* occurs Dh.82.

Feminine in *ī*

Ratti, 'The Night'

	Singnlar	Plural
N Voc.	*ratti.*	*rattiyo, rattī.*
Acc.	*rattiṃ.*	*rattī, rattiyo.*
Ins. Abl.	*rattiyā.*	*rattībhi, rattīhi.*
D. Gen.	*rattiyā*	*rattīnaṃ.*
Loc.	*rattiyaṃ, rattiyā.*	*rattīsu.*

The nominative plural *rattī,* is formed exactly like the corresponding from of the masculine stems *aggī,* most probably after the analogy of the *a*-stems (Torp. 41). In the genitive sing. we have a from

kasino like *aggino* in Kasibhāradvājasutta v.1, and in the locative *ratto = ādo,* Dh. v. 299. The locative singular in *ā,* is properly speaking a genitive, as we have noticed also in *kaññā* confusion between these two cases. Instead of the group *iy* in the oblique cases of the singular, and in the nominative accusative of the plural, we also find simple *y,* and this may be contracted with a preceding dental according to the rules give above, p. 34. In this way we obtain forms like *nikatyā,* from *nikṛti,* 'fraud,' Jāt. ii. 183, *nikacca* with shortened *ā* Suttavibh. i. 90; *Jaccā* for *jātiyā; sammuccā* for *sammutiyā,* etc., comp. Fausb., introd. to the Suttanipāta transl. p. xi. Instead of *rattiyā* we have *ratyā,* Dh. 178.

The declension of the steam in *ī* is very much the same as of those in *ī* :

Nadī, 'A River'

	Singular	Plural
N. & Voc.	*nadī.*	*nadiyo, najjo, nadī.*
Acc.	*nadiṃ.*	*nadī, nadiyo, najje.*
Ins. Abl.	*nadiyā, nadyā, najjā.*	*nadībhi, nadīnaṃ.*
D.Gen.	*nadiyā, nadyā, najjā.*	*nadīnaṃ.*
Loc.	*nadiyaṃ, najjaṃ, nadiyā.*	*nadīsu.*

In the ablative singular we have a contracted from *pesī* for pesiyā, Mil. 421, an ablative in *to* is *sirito* from *sirī*=çrī, Samanta Pās. 304. From *dabbī*, 'spoon,' we have the genitive *davyā*, Jāt. iii. 218. The nominative plural *najjo* occurs only Kacc. 56. An enlarged form of the genitive plural in *iyānaṃ*, is met with in a few example : *bhaginīyānaṃ*, Mah. 4 ; *tevīsatiyānaṃ*, Dh, 117 ; *caturasītiyanaṃ*, Dh. 350 ; it supposes a nominative singular in *iyā*, like çriyā for çrī in the Sanskrit of the Northern Buddhists.

The declension of *itthī* or *thī*=strī, 'a woman,' follows *nadi* in general ; in the acc. singular we have an additional form *itthiyam*= *striyaṃ*, in the genitive *thiyaṃ*=stryām, in the locative *itthiyā*.

Masculines and Neuters in *u*

Bhikkhu, 'A Mendicant Friar'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*bhikkhu.*	*bhikkhavo, bhikkhū.*
Voc.	*bhikkhu.*	*bhikkhavo, bhikkhave, bhikkhū.*

Acc.	*bhikkuṃ.*	*bhikkhavo, bhikkhavo.*
Instr.	*bhikkunā.*	*bhikkhūbhi, bhikkhūhi.*
D. G.	*bhikkuno, bhikkhussa.*	*bhikkhūnam.*
Abl.	*bhikkunā, bhikkhusmā, bhikkhumhā.*	*bhikkhūbhi, bhikkhūhi.*
Loc.	*bhikkhusmiṃ, bhikkhumhi.*	*bhikkhūsu.*

In the voc. sing. we find *Sutano*, Jāt. iii. 329. A rest of the old gen. in *os*, survives in *hetu*=hetos, Dh. v. 84. In the oblique cases of the plural again we find the short *u* (like the short *i*) occasionally in verses, as *jantuhi*, Anecd. 33 ; *bhikkhusu*, Dh.v 73; *jantunaṃ*, Ten. Jāt. 91. A form *bahunnaṃ* with double *n* instead of *ū* occurs Dh. 81. Irregular forms of the nom. pl. are *jantuyo* and *mittaduno* from *mittadu*=mitradruh, Mah. 10, *jantuyo* and *hetuyo*.

Masculines terminating in *ū* keep it in the nom. sing., as *abhibhū*, Dh. 255, but shorten it in the other cases. The plural is *abhibhū* or *abhibhuvo*, from *sabbaññū*=sarvajñā : *sabbaññū* or *sabbaññuno*, from *sahabhū: sahabhū, sahabhuvo, sahabhuno.*

The neuters in *u* form the nom. voc. acc. pl. either in *ū* or *ūni*, as *madhū* or *madhūni*. The nom. and acc. sing. can take *ṃ* like the corresponding forms of the *i*-stems, as cakkhum udapādi, Kacc.27.

Feminines in ū

Dhenu, 'A Cow'

	Singular	Plural
N V.	*dhenu.*	*dhenuvo, dhenuyo, dhenū.*
Acc.	*dhenuṃ.*	*dhenū, dhenuyo.*
I.A.	*dhenuyā.*	*dhenūbhi, dhenūhi.*
D.G.	*dhenuyā.*	*dhenūnaṃ.*
Loc.	*dhenuyaṃ, dhenuyā.*	*dhenūsu.*

The nom. pl. *dhenuvo*. occurs Dh. 237, where Fausböll has altered it to *dhenuyo*. *Bhū*, 'the earth,' makes in the ioc. sing. *bhuvi*, Kacc. 45; *massu*, thought being a neuter, forms its gen. according to the fem. fashion *massuyā*, Jāt. iii. 315. An abl.with the termination to occurs in *natthuto*, 'into the nose, M. viii. 1,11, *jambuto* , Bv. xvii. 9, the loc. *dhātuyā*, C. ix. 1, 4.

The feminines terminating in *ū* follow the declension of *dhenu* with the only exception of the nom. sing., which may adopt the from in *ū* as *vadhū*, 'a wife,' Ab. 230 (but *vadhu*, Suttavibh. i. 18); *sarabhū* = sarayu, 'name of a river;' *camū* = camū, 'an army ;' *pādū* = pādū, 'a shoe;' *sassū* = çvaçrū, 'mother-in-law.'

Stems ending in a diphthong

Go, 'A Cow'

	Singular	Plural
N V.	*go.*	*gavo, gāvo.*
Acc.	*gavam, gāvaṃ, gāvuṃ.*	*gavo, gāvo.*
Inster.	*gavena, gāvena.*	*gobhi, gohi.*
D.G.	*gavassa,gāvassa.*	*gavaṃ, gonaṃ, gunnaṃ.*
Abl.	*gavā, gāvā, gavasmā, gāvasmā, gavamhā, gāvamhā.*	*gobhi, gohi.*
Loc.	*gave, gāve, gavasmiṃ gāvasmiṃ, gavamhi, gāvamhi.*	*gosu, gavesu, āvesu.*

We find throughout the declension a new stem, *gava* or *gāva*, which is inflected like a masculine *a*-stem ; we meet even with a nom. pl. *gavā*, Jāt. i. 336, together with the nom. *gāviyo*, of the fem. *gāvī*.

All other diphthongic stems have disappeared in Pāli : nau has become nāvā following the declension of the feminine *ā*-stems, dyu has become divo with the only exception of the instr. sing. *divā*, which is used like an adverb in Pāli.

15. Consonantal Stems

Stems in Masals

These are considered by the grammarians as belonging to the vowel-stems.

(1) in *an*

Attan = ātman. 'Self'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*attā.*	*attāno.*
Vcc.	*atta, attā.*	*attāno.*

Acc.	*attānaṃ, attaṃ*	*attāno.*
Instr.	*attanā, [attena]*	*attānoebhi, attanehi.*
D.G.	*attano.*	*attānaṃ.*
Abl.	*attānā*	*attanebhi, attanehi.*
Loc.	*attani.*	*attanesu.*

A palallel form is *ātumā* with the same inflexion, and besides, *tumo*, Fausb. S. N. 170. The instr. *attena*, the abl. *attasmā, attamhā*, and the loc. *attasmiṃ, attamhi*, given by Clough, have not yet been found in any old text.

Brahman, 'Brahma'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*brahmā.*	*brahāno.*
Voc.	*brahme.*	*brahmāno.*
Acc.	*brahmānaṃ, brahmaṃ.*	*brahmāno.*
Instr.	*brahmanā, brahmunā.*	*brahmebhi, brahmehi.*
D. G.	*brahmuno, [brahmassa].*	*brahmānaṃ, brahmunaṃ.*
Abl.	*brahmanā, brahmunā.*	*brahmebhi, brahmehi.*
Loc.	*brahmani.*	*brahmesu.*

The voc. sing. *brahme*, Kacc. 96, is formed after the analogy of the *i*-stems.

Rājan, 'A King'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*rājā.*	*rājāno.*
Voc.	*rājā, rājā.*	*rājāno.*
Acc.	*rājānaṃ, rājāṃ.*	*rājāno.*
Instr.	*raññā, rājena.*	*rājūbhi, rājūhi, rājebhi, rājehi.*
D . G.	*raññno, rājino, [rājassa].*	*raññaṃ, rājūnaṃ, rājānaṃ.*
Abl.	*raññā.*	*rājūbhi, rājūhi, rājebhi, rājehi.*
Loc.	*raññe, rājini.*	*rājūsu, rājesu.*

We find an instr. *muddhanā* from *muddhā*, 'the head,' Mah. 117, and a loc. *muddhani*, ib. 108 ; an instr. *rājaṇā*, which I think cannot be correct, has been given by Fausbóll, Jāt.iii. 180, and a gen. *raññassa*, Jāt. iii. 70. The forms *rājaṃ, rājema* suppose a stem *rāja, rājino* and

rājini are simply formed by epenthesis ; in the plural we have to adopt a stem *rāju*, form which all the cases can be derived. The legend PAONAO PAO on the Indobactrian coins does not represent a Pāli form *rājunāṃ rājā* with double suffix, as Kuhn believed, but is a Skythian title formed on the model of *rājādirājā*, comp. Oldenberg, Ind. Ant. x. 215 note.

Some substantives belonging to this declension in Sankṛit follow the *a*-declension in Pāli, as *Vissakammo*=*Viçvakarman*, 'name of a celestial architect,' spelt *Vissukamma*, Cariy. i.9,41; *vivattachaddo*= vivṛttachdaman, 'one by whom the veil is rolled away;' *puthulomo*= pṛthuloman, 'a fish;' *athabbana*=atharvan, *yakana*=yakan, 'the liver;' *chaka, chakana*=çakan, 'dung.'

Yuvan, 'Young'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*yuvā.*	*yuvāno, yuvānā.*
Voc.	*yuva, yuvā,yuvāna, yuvānā.*	*yuvāno, yuvānā.*
Acc.	*yuvānaṃ, yuvaṃ.*	*yuvāne, yuve.*
Instr.	*yuvānā, yuvānena, yuvena.*	*yuvānebhi, yuvānehi, yuvebhi, yuvehi.*
D.G.	*yuvānassa, yuvassa.*	*yuvānānaṃ, yuvānaṃ.*
Abl.	*yuvānā, yuvānasmā, yuvānamhā.*	*yuvānebhi, yuvānehi, yuvebhi, yuvehi.*
Loc.	*yuvāne, yuvānasmiṃ. yuvānamhi, yuve, yuvasmiṃ, yuvamhi.*	*yuvānesu, yuvāsu, yuvesu*

Most of these forms suppose a new stem *yuvāna*, formed from the acc. sing. Besides we have a stem *yūna*, from which the nom. sing. *yūno*, f. *yūnī*, is formed, according to Kacc. 328.

Sā=çvan, 'A Dog'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*sā.*	*sā,[sāno].*
Voc.	*sa.*	*sā.*
Acc.	*saṃ.[sānaṃ].*	*se.*
Instr.	*sena.*	*sābhi, sāhi,*
Dat.	*sāya, sassa.*	*sānaṃ.*

Abl.	*sā, sasmā, samhā.*	*sābhi, sāhi.*
Gen.	*sassa.*	*sānaṃ.*
Loc.	*se, sasmiṃ, samhi.*	*sāsu.*

Besides we have for the nom. sing. the forms *sāno, svāno, suvāno, soṇo* and *sūno*. Other words following the same inflection are *paccakkhadhammā*=pratyakshadharman, 'whose virtues are evident,' and *gaṇḍīvadhanvā*, 'using the bow Gāṇḍīva,' Kacc. 182.

A few substantives form only some cases according to the nasal inflection, while the other cases follow another declension, as *kammaṃ*= karman, 'action,' which forms the instr. sing. *kammunā, kammanā* and *kammena*, the gen. *kammuno* and *kammassa*, Pāt. 11; abl. *kammā* Dh. v. 127, loc. *kammani*. *Thāmo*=sthāmas, 'strength,' forms part of its cases after the uasal inflection as the instr. *thāmunā*, Kacc. 81. but generally *thāmasā*, Suttavibh. ii. 134, Mah. 143 (Turnour *thāmavā*), gen. *thāmuno*. In the same way *addhā*=adhvan, 'a road,' forms *addhano* and *addhuno* ; *bhasmaṃ*=bhasman, 'ashes,' loc. *bhasmani*.

Pumā=puṃs, 'a man'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*pumā.*	*pumāno.*
Voc.	*pumaṃ.*	*pumāno.*
Acc.	*pumaṃ.*	*pumāno.*
Instr.	*pumānā, pumunā, pumena.*	*pumānebhi, pumānehi.*
D. G.	*pumuno, pumassa*	*pumānaṃ.*
Abl.	*pumunā.*	*pumānebhi, pumānehi.*
Loc.	*Pumāne, pume, pumasmim. pumamhi.*	*pumāsu, pumesu.*

A nom. sing. *pumo* accurs Cariy. iii. 6,2, similar to *tumo* = ātmā, Fausb. S.N. 170.

(2) Adjectives terminating in *mant* and *vant*.

Guṇavant, 'virtuous'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*guṇavā, guṇvanto.*	*guṇavanto, guṇavantā.*
Voc.	*guṇavaṃ, guṇavaṃ.*	*guṇavantaṃ, guṇavantā.*
Acc.	*guṇavantaṃ, guṇavaṃ.*	*guṇavante.*

Instr.	*guṇavatā, guṇavantena.*	*guṇavantebhi, guṇavantehi.*
D. G.	*guṇavato, guṇavantassa, guṇavassa.*	*guṇavataṃ, guṇavantānaṃ.*
Abl.	*guṇavatā.*	*guṇavantebhi, guṇavantehi.*
Loc.	*guṇavati, guṇavante, guṇavantasmiṃ, guṇavatamhi.*	*guṇavantebhi, guṇavantehi. guṇavantesu.*

The neuter has in the nom, voc. acc. sing. *guṇavaṃ*, pl. *guṇavanti, guṇavantāni*. The fem. is made by adding *ī* to the strong or the weak form, *guṇavantī*, or *guṇavantī*; it follows the declension of the *ī*-stems.

The participles in *ant* follow this declension with the only exception of the nom. sing. which they from in *aṃ* or anto, as *gacchaṃ, gacchanto*, 'going.'

A nom from the weak from *jīvato* for *jīvanto* occurs in a verse, Jāt. iii. 539; an acc. *vajataṃ*, Vasala Sutta, v. 6; *asataṃ*, Dh. v. 73, Vasala Sutta v. 16. From the root *kar* we have the part. nom. pl. masc. *karoto*, Dh. v. 66; nom. sing. fem. *karontī*, Dh. v. 246; gen. sing. masc. *karoto*, Dh. v. 116; instr. *saṃkhārontena*, in a passage of Petavatthu-vṇṇanā quoted I.O.C. p. 79; all these form follow the 3rd pers. pl. *karonti*. Besides we have the gen. anukubbassa, Jāt. iii. 108, rendered in the Mahāvastu by kṛtyānukāryasya.

Arahant, 'an Arhat,' forms the nom. sing. *arahaṃ* and *arahā*, the former being the regular one, the latter following the analogy of *mahā*. In the nom. pl. we have *arahanto* and *arahā*, Dīp. 30, Anecd. 7. A similar nom. pl. *mahā* occurs Ab. 413. Kacc. 94 gives a nom. sing. *mahaṃ* which does not occur anywhere else; the nom. sing. *mahā* occurs separately, Dh. 298, Mah. 132, and besides very often in compounds.

In the pl. we have one instance of an old form *sabbhi*= sadbhis, Dh. v. 151.

In the neuter nom. sing. we have the forms *brahā*, Ab. 700, *madhuvā*, Dh. v. 69; *asaṃ*= asat, Jāt. ii. 32.

Of participles of the perfect in vaṃs we have *bhayadassivā*= °darçiyaṃs; vidvaṃs forms nom. sing. *aviddasu*, Dh. 47; nom. pl. *aviddasū*, C. xii. 1, 3; besides we have *sabbavidū*, Dh. v. 353; *lokavidū*= lokavid of the Northern Buddhists, Lotus 860.

Bhavaṃ, 'Sir'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*bhavaṃ.*	*bhavanto, bhonto, bhavantā.*
Voc.	*bho, bhonta.*	*bhavanto, bhonto, bhante.*
Acc.	*bhavantaṃ, bhotaṃ.*	*bhavante, bhonte.*
Instr.	*bhavatā, bhotā, bhavantena.*	
D. G.	*bhavato, bhoto, bhavantassa.*	
Abl.	*bhavatā, bhotā.*	

The fem. shows the forms b*havantī, bhavati, bhotī*, pl. *bhotiyo.*

(3) Stems in *in*

Daṇḍin, 'a mendicant'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*daṇḍī.*	*daṇḍino, daṇḍī.*
Voc.	*daṇḍī.*	*daṇḍino, daṇḍī.*
Acc.	*daṇḍinaṃ, daṇḍiṃ.*	*daṇḍino, daṇḍī.*
Instr.	*daṇḍinā.*	*daṇḍībhi, daṇḍīhi.*
D. G.	*daṇḍina, daṇḍissa.*	*daṇḍīnaṃ.*
Abl.	*daṇḍinā, daṇḍismā, daṇḍimhā.*	*daṇḍībhi, daṇḍīhi.*
Loc.	*daṇḍini, daṇḍismiṃ, daṇḍimhi.*	*daṇḍīsu*

At M.vi. 28, 11, we have an acc. pl. *brahmacriye*, of brahmacārin, 'holy;' and at Mahāparinibb. 16, we have the same passage with the v.l. *brahmacārayo*; the nom. pl. *sabrahmacārī* occurs Mahāparin. 5. *Dīpī*=dvīpin, 'a leopard,' forms the nom. pl. *dīpiyo*, Jāt. xiv. 1, 27. The, oblique cases of the plural have a short *i* only in verses : *pāṇinaṃ*, Dh. 135, *aṇyoginaṃ*, Dh. v. 209. An instance of a nom.sing. with *ī* is *seṭṭhi*=çreshṭin, 'a treasurer, merchant,' Jāt. i. 120,122, where all MSS. agree in the spelling.

Examples of an elarged stem are *sāramatino* nom. sing=sāramati, Mil. 420; *verinesu* from *verin*, 'hostile,' Dh. v. 197.

(4) Stems in r

Satthā=çāstṛi, 'the teacher'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*sattā.*	*sattāro.*
Voc.	*sattha, satthā.*	*sattāro.*

Acc.	*sattāram, sattaraṃ.*	*sattāro, sattāre.*
Instr.	*sattharā, satthārā, satthunā.*	*sattārebhi, satthārehi.*
D. G.	*satthu, satthussa.*	*satthānaṃ, satthārānaṃ.*
Abl.	*sattharā, satthānā.*	*satthārebhi, satthārehi.*
Loc.	*satthari.*	*satthāresu.*

Here also some stems have adopted the *a*-declension, as *saltakatta* =çalyakartṛ, 'a physician,' Mil. 110, Att. 208, to which Childers compares *nāhapita*=snāpitṛ, 'a barber;' *kattara*=kartṛ, 'a weak man,' in *kattaradaṇḍa*, M. v. 6, 2; *kattarasuppa*, M. vii. 1, 4; and *theta*=sthātṛ, 'firm,' Gr. 5. In composition the base generally terminates in u, as *sotu*=çrotṛ, 'hearer,' Daṭh, vi. 6 (the gen. pl. *sotūnaṃ* occurs in a passage of the Mahāvagga of the Dīghanikāya, quoted I. O. C. 69); *bhattu*=bhartṛ, 'husband,' Jāt. ii. 348; *mandhātu*=mandhātṛ, Jāt. ii. 310. The voc. sing. *sattha* occurs Kacc. 116; the acc. *sattharaṃ*, Bv. xxii. 14; an instr. *satthāya*, Dh. 87; the gen. *satthussa*, Mah. 240.

Pitā=pitṛ, 'a father'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*pitā.*	*pitaro.*
Voc.	*pita, pitā.*	*pitaro.*
Acc.	*pitaraṃ, pituṃ.*	*pitaro, pitare.*
Instr.	*pitarā, pitunā, petyā.*	*pitarebhi, pitarehi, pitūbhi, pitūhi.*
D. G.	*pitu, pituno, pitussa.*	*pitarānaṃ, pitānaṃ, pitūnaṃ, pitunnaṃ.*
Abl.	*pitarā.*	*pitarebhi, pitarehi, pitūbhi, pitūhi.*
Loc	*pitari.*	*pitaresu, pitūsu.*

Mātā=mātṛ, 'a mother'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*mātā.*	*mātaro.*
Voc.	*māta, mātā.*	*mātaro.*
Acc.	*mātaraṃ.*	*mātaro, mātare.*
Instr. Abl.	*mātarā, mātuyā, mātyā.*	*mātarebhi, mātarehi, mātūbhi, mātūhi.*

D. G.	*mātu, mātuyā, mātyā.*	*mātarānaṃ, mātānaṃ, mātūnaṃ, mātunnaṃ.*
Loc.	*mātari, mātuyaṃ, mātyaṃ, mātuyā, mātyā.*	*mātaresu, mātūsu.*

The acc. sing. *pituṃ* occurs Cariy. ii. 9, 3 ; the instr. *mātyā* and *petyā*, Jāt. 527, v. 3, 5 ; the gen. *mātussa*, geven by Kacc. 98, is not found anywhere else, and belongs most probally to a bāhuvrīhī (Torp. 33). An abl. *pitito* and *mātito*, 'on father's and on mother's side,' occurs Kacc. 102, and in a passage from a commentary quoted by Alwis, Introd. xlv.

The nom. pl. *mātārapitaro*, where both stems are inflected, occurs Ang. p. 121 ; the gen. *mātāpitunnaṃ*, Ten Jāt. 92. An acc. pl. bhāte occurs Dīp. 6, 21, 22.

The declension of *dhīta*, 'daughter,' is on the whole the same as that of *mātā* ; we find, however, a voc. *dhīte*, Dh. 364, Jāt. iii. 21 ; and an acc. pl. *dhītā*, Jāt. i. 240. In composition we have *dhītiṭṭhāna*, Mah. 222 ; *dhītuhetu*, Mil. 117.

Sakhi, 'a friend'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*sakhā.*	*sakhāyo, sakhāno, sakhino.*
Voc.	*sakha, sakhā, sakhi, sakhe.*	*sakhyo, sakhāno, sakhino.*
Acc.	*sakhānaṃ, sakhaṃ, sakhāraṃ.*	*sakhhī, sakhāyo, sakhāno, sakhino.*
Instr. Abl.	*sakhinā.*	*sakhārebhi, sakhārehi, sakhebhi, sakhehi.*
D. G.	*sakhino, sakhissa.*	*sakhārānaṃ, sakhīnaṃ.*
Loc.	*sakhe.*	*sakhāresu, sakhesu.*

The acc. *Sakhaṃ* occurs Jāt. ii. 348. an abl. *sakhārasmā* is found Jāt. iii. 534; *sakhito*, Att. 216. Acc. pl. sakhī, Att. 203.

(5) Stems in *s*

Manas, 'the mind'

	Singular
N.V.A.	*mano, manaṃ.*
Instr.	*manasā, manena.*
D.G.	*manaso, manassa.*

Abl.	*manasā, manasmā, manamhā.*
Loc.	*manasi, mane, manasmiṃ, manamhi.*

The plural of *manas* not in use. The other form it after the *a*-declension. The nom. acc. *manaṃ.* occurs Dh. v. 96, Cariy. i. 8. 5; *rajaṃ.* 'dust', Dh. v. 313, but *rajo* (with the adj. in the masc.), Dh. v. 125; *sumedhaṃ*, Dh. v. 208, but *sumedhaso,* Dh. v. 29; voc. *dummedha*, Dh. v. 394; a gen. *tapassa* occurs Jāt. i. 293; nom. pl. *sumanā*, Kh. 6.

Candramas, 'the moon,' becomes *candimā*; jaras, 'old age,' *Jarā*; and asparas, 'a celestial nymph,' *accharā*; all these follow the *ā*-declension.

The comparatives in *yo*, *iyyo*, follow the declension *mano*; *seyyo*=çreyas, 'better;' *gariyo*=garīyas, from *guru*, 'heavy.'

Āyus, 'life'

	Singular	Plural
N. V. A.	*āyu, āyuṃ.*	*āyūni, āyū.*
Instr.	*āyusā, āyunā.*	*āyūbhi, āyūhi.*
D. G.	*āyussa, ūyuno.*	*āyūnaṃ.*
Loc.	*āyusi, āyuni.*	*āyūsu.*

The instr. *āyusā* occurs Kh. 16; *āyunā*, Dh. 288; the gen. *āyussa*, Mah. 220; *āyuno*, Dh. 128.

16. Comperison of Adjectives

Adjectives with vowel bases form their comparison in two ways :

(1) by adding *tara* for the comparative and *tama* for the superlative.

(2) By adding *iyo*, *yo* for the comparative and *iṭṭha* for the superlative.

Thus, from *pāpa*, 'bad,' we can form *pāpatra, pāpatama* and *pāpiyo, pāpiṭṭha*, Kacc. 196. The comparative of no. 1 may be combined with the superlative of the superlative of no. 2; thus we obtain *pāpiṭṭhatara*, C. i. 6, 2. Besides, the comparative of no. 2 may be increased by the addition of the suffix *ika*, which gives us *pāpiyyasika* in *tassapāpiyyasikākamma*, M. ix. 6, 2 ; and with contraction *pāpissika.*

Adjectives terminating in *mant, vant* and *vin*, drop these suffixes before the comparative and superlative suffixes, as for inst.

guṇavā comp. *guṇiyo*, sup. *guṇiṭṭha* ; *mebhāvī* comp. *medhiyo*, sup. *medhiṭha*.

Some adjectives form their comp. and sup. form entirely different bases :

antika,	'near.'	Comp.	*nediyo.*	Sup.	*neditṭha.*
bāḷha,	'strong.'	"	*sādhiyo.*	"	*sādhiṭṭha.*
vuddha,	'old.'	"	*jeyyo.*	"	*jeṭṭha.*
appa,	'small.' }	"	*kaniyo.*	"	*kaniṭṭha.*
yuvā,	'young.' }	"			
pasattha,	'excellent.'	"	*seyyo.*	"	*seṭṭha.*

17. Pronominal Inflexion

(1) Personal Pronouns of the First and Second Persons.

First Person

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*ahaṃ.*	*vayaṃ, mayaṃ, amhe*
Acc..	*maṃ, mamaṃ.*	*asme, amhe, amhākaṃ*
Instr. Abl.	*mayā.*	*amhebhi, amhehi.*
Dat. Gen.	*mama, mamaṃ.*	*amhākaṃ, amhaṃ.*
	mayhaṃ, amhaṃ.	
Loc.	*mayi.*	*amhesu.*

Second Person

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*tvaṃ, tuvaṃ.*	*tumhe.*
Acc.	*tvaṃ, tuvaṃ.*	*tumhe, tumhākaṃ.*
	taṃ, tavaṃ.	
Instr. Abl.	*tvayā, tayā.*	*tumhebhi, tumhehi.*
Dat. Gen.	*tava, tavaṃ.*	*tumhākam, tumhaṃ.*
	tuyhaṃ, tumhaṃ.	
Loc.	*tvayi, tayi.*	*tumhesu.*

Besides, we have the enclitic form : me, te for instr. dat. and gen. sing ; *no, vo* for ace. dat. and gen. pl.

The old form of the nom. pl. *vayaṃ* occurs Dh. 105, the acc. pl. *asme*, Jāt iii. 359. The acc. pl. *amhākaṃ* and *tumhākaṃ* are borrowed from the gen. The nom. pl. *amhe* and the gen. *amhaṃ* and *tumhaṃ*, *amhānaṃ* and *tumhānaṃ*, are only found in Kacc. 83, 84.

The enclitic forms no and vo may also be used for the nom., according to Kacc. 78.

(2) The Demonstrative Pronoun

(a) Stem **ta, 'this'**

Singular

	Masc. and Neuter	Feminine
Nom.	*so, sa, taṃ. (tad)*	*sā.*
Acc.	*taṃ taṃ (tas).*	*taṃ.*
Instr.	*tena.*	*tāya.*
Dat.Gen.	*tassa.*	*tassā, tassāya, tissā, tissāya, tāya.*
Abl.	*tasmā, tamhā.*	*tāya.*
Loc.	*tasmiṃ, tamhi.*	*tassaṃ, tāsaṃ, tissaṃ, tāyaṃ.*

Plural

	Masc. and Neuter	Feminine
Nom.Acc.	*te, tāni.*	*tā, tāyo.*
Instr.Abl.	*tebhi, tehi.*	*tābhi, tāhi.*
Dat.Gen.	*tesaṃ, tesānaṃ.*	*tāsaṃ, tāsānaṃ.*
Loc.	*tesu.*	*tāsu.*

For all the forms beginning with *t* we may substitute the corresponding forms of the stem na. At Kacc. 89, the following forms are given : *nāyo, naṃ, ne, nesu, namhi, nāhi*. Besides we have the stemes *eta* and *ena*, which are inflected like *ta* and *na* respectively.

In the nom. sing. we generally have *so*, the form of the substantives, *sa* occurs Dh. v. 142, 267, 268. A gen. sing. masc. *tasmassa* is found Anecd. 15, and at Mil. 136 all MSS. give *tāsaṃ* for the loc. sing. fem., which is no doubt a correct form, comp. *nesaṃ*, ib. 179.

(b) Stem **ima, 'this'**

Singular

	Masc. and Neuter	Feminine
Nom.	*ayaṃ, idam, imaṃ.*	*ayaṃ*

Acc.	*imaṃ, idaṃ, imaṃ.*	*imaṃ.*
Instr.	*iminā, anena.*	*imāya.*
D. G.	*imassa, assa.*	*imissā, imissāya, imāya, assā, assāya.*
Abl.	*imasmā, imamhā, asmā.*	*imāya.*
Loc.	*imasmiṃ, imamhi, asmiṃ.*	*imissaṃ, imāsaṃ, imāyaṃ, assam.*

Plural

	Masc. and Neuter	Feminine
N. A.	*ime, imāni.*	*imā, imāyo.*
In. Ab.	*imebhi, imehi, ebhi, ehi.*	*imābhi, imāhi.*
D. G.	*imesaṃ, imesānaṃ, esaṃ, esānaṃ.*	*imesāṃ, imāsānaṃ.*
Loc.	*imesu.*	*imāsu.*

In *tadaminā* for *tadiminā*, Vasala Sutta, v. 22, *i* is changed to a by dissimilation.

(c) Stem **amu, 'that'**

Singular

	Masc. and Neuter	Feminine
Nom.	*asu, aduṃ*	*asu.*
Acc.	*amuṃ, aduṃ.*	*amuṃ.*
Instr.	*amunā.*	*amuyā.*
Dat.Gen.	*amussa*	*amuyā. amuyā.*
Abl.	*amusmā, amumhiā.*	*amuyā.*
Loc.	*amusmiṃ, amumhi.*	*amussaṃ, amuyaṃ.*

Pluarl

	Masc. and Fem.	Neutr.
Nom.Acc.	*amū, amuyo.*	*amu, amūni.*
Instr.Abl.	*amūbhi, amūhi.*	
Dat.Gen.	*amūsaṃ, amūsānaṃ.*	
Loc.	*amūsu.*	

(3) Relative Pronoun

Stem **ya, 'which'**

Singular

	Masc. and Neuter	Feminine
Nom.	*yo, yaṃ (yad).*	*yā.*
Acc.	*yaṃ yaṃ. (yad).*	*yaṃ.*
Instr.	*yena.*	*yāya.*
Dat.Gen.	*yassa.*	*yassā, yāya.*
Abl.	*yamhā*	*yāya.*
Loc.	*yasmiṃ,yamhi.*	*yassaṃ, yāyaṃ.*

Pluarl

	Masc. and Neutr	Feminine
Nom.	*ye,yāni.*	*yā, yāyo.*
Acc.	*ye,yāni.*	*yā, yāyo.*
Instr.	*yebhi, yehi.*	*yābhi, yāhi.*
Dat.Gen.	*yesaṃ,*	*yāsaṃ.*
Abl	*yebhi, yehi.*	*yābhi, yāhi.*
Loc.	*yesu.*	*yāsu.*

(4) Interrogative Pronouns

Stem **ka, 'which'**

The inflexion of this stem is like that of *ya* with the following exceptions : The nom. sing. neut. is *kiṃ*; in the dat. and gen. masc. and neut. sing. we have *kassa* and *kissa*, in the loc. *kasmiṃ, kamni, kismiṃ* and *kimhi*.

The indefinite pronouns are formed by adding the particles *ci, api* and *cana* to the forms of the interrogative.

Besides, we have a number of words which although not being pronouns in the true sense of the word, still follow the pronominal inflexion : First of all, possessives like *madīya, māmaka*, 'mine,' *amhadīya*, 'our,' would belong to this class, but of these we only find nominatives in our texts. Next come the adjectives composed with dṛç, as *mādisa*, 'like me;' *etādisa* or *etārisa*, and *īdisa*, 'like this;' *kīdisa*, 'like what;' *cirassaṃ* for *cirassa*, 'long since,' seems to be a pronominal form.

By adding the suffixes *tara, tama* (already found in comparision of adjectives) to the interrogative stems, we obtain the pronominal adjectives *katara* and *katama*, which do not differ in their signification much from the single pronoun.

The other adjectives inflected according to the pronominal inflexion, are *sabba* and *vissa* = sarva and viçva, 'all;' *añña* = anya, 'other,' with its derivatives *aññatara, aññatama*; *itara*, 'other;' *uttara, uttama*, 'higher;' *adhara*, 'inferior;' *apara, para*, 'other;' *dakkhiṇa*, 'right;' *pubba*, 'former;' *amuka* and *asuka*, 'this.' The numeral for one, *eka*, also follow the same declension.

The grammarian Moggallāna (Alwis Catal., 184), asserts that these adjectives can also follow the regular declension of the stems, and gives some passages from unknown texts.

18. Numerals

(1) *Cardinals*

1 *eka.*
2 *dvi.*
3 *ti.*
4 *catu.*
5 *pañca.*
6 *cha.*
7 *satta.*
8 *aṭṭha.*
9 *nava.*
10 *dasa.*
11 *ekādasa, ekārasa.*
12 *dvādasa, bārasa*
13 *terasa.*
14 *catuddasa, coddasa, cuddasa.*
15 *pañcadasa.*
16 *soḷasa.*
17 *sattadasa, sattarasa.*
18 *aṭṭhādasa, aṭṭhārasa.*
19 *ekūnavīsaṃ, ekūnavīsati.*
20 *vīsaṃ, vīsati*
30 *tiṃsaṃ, tiṃsati.*
40 *cattārīsaṃ, cattālīsaṃ, tālsaṃ.*

50 *paññāsaṃ, paññāsa.*
60 *saṭṭhi, saṭṭhiṃ*
70 *saṭṭati, saṭṭari.*
80 *asīti.*
90 *navuti.*
100 *sataṃ.*
1000 *sahassaṃ.*

The forms *vīsaṃ, tiṃsaṃ*, etc., show that the termination *ti* of the Sanskṛit, can be replaced in Pāli by the anusvāra. We find the anusvāra occasionally also where it has no right to be, as in *drādasaṃ*, Mah. 8; *saṭṭhiṃ* = shashṭi, Dh. 211. When the nasal is dropped the remaining a may be lengthened.

The intermediate numerals between *vīsaṃ* and *tiṃsaṃ*, etc., are regular, with the only exception that instead of *dvi* we generally find *dvā, bā* (or *dva, ba* before a double consonant), as in *dvāvīsati, bāvīsati, dvattiṃsa, battiṃsa, dvenavu*ti, and instead if *ti, te* as in *tevīsati*. For caturaçīti we have *cullāsīti*, for pañcaviṃçati *paṇṇuvīsaṃ*, Jāt. iii. 138.

From *cha* we have a plural *chaḷāni*, Dīp. 108, and for twelve *dviccha* = dvishash, Ab. 195.

About the declension of *eka*, see the Pronouns.

Dvi and the synonymous *ubho* have the following inflexion.

N.A.	*dve duve.*	*ubho, ubhe*
I. A.	*dvībhi, dvīhi*	*ubhobhi, ubhohi, ubhebhi, ubhehi.*
D.G.	*dvinnaṃ, duvinnaṃ.*	*ubhinnaṃ.*
Loc.	*dvīsu.*	*ubhosu, udhesu.*

Ubho = Skt. ubhau is one of the few rests of the Dual remaining in Pāli (see above, p. 46).

In the numerals *ti* and *catu* we have separate forms for the fem., very much in the same way as in Skt.:

	Masc. and Neuter		
Nom. Acc.	*tayo,*	*tīni.*	*cattāro, caturo, cattāri.*
Instr. Abl.	*tībhi,*	*tīhi.*	*catubbhi, catūbhi, catūhi.*
Dat. Gen.	*tiṇṇaṃ,*	*tiṇṇannaṃ.*	*catuṇṇaṃ.*
Loc.	*tīsu.*		*catūsu.*

Feminine

Nom. Acc.	*tisso.*	*catasso.*
Instr. Abl.	*tībhi, tīhi.*	*catubbhi, catūbhi, catūhi.*
Dat. Gen.	*tissannaṃ.*	*catassannaṃ.*
Loc.	*tīsu*	*catūsu.*

Pañca forms the instr. abl. *pañcahi*, Gen. Dat. *pañcannaṃ*, Loc. *pañcasu*, and this is the declension all numerals in a follow.

The numerals in *i* are declined like the fem. *i*-stems, *sataṃ* and *sahassaṃ* like neuters in *aṃ*.

Sataṃ and *sahassaṃ*, in conjunction with a noun, can be joined to nouns in the following ways :

(1) With a noun in the gen. pl., as *itthīnaṃ pañca satāni*, 'five hundred women.'

(2) With a noun in the nom. pl. (*sataṃ* being either in the sing. or in the pl.) as *pañcasataṃ yati*, '500 yatis,' or *pañcasatā bhikkhū*, '500 mendicants.'

(3) With a noun in the sing., as *chacattālīsaṃ vassaṃ atikamma*,' after the lapse of 146 years.

(4) As a compound, the numeral being the last part, as *gāthāsataṃ*, '100 stanzas.'

(5) As a compound, the nimeral being the first part, as *sajassahaṭilā*, 'a thousand jaṭilas.'

Another form of *sahassa* is *sahassī*, which is used promiscuously as a masc. and fem. in connection with *cakkavāla* or *vasudhā*, etc., as *dasasahassī-cakkavāle*, 'in ten thousand worlds,' Dh. 94. Sometimes the subst. is omitted, and *dasasahassī* is treated like a fem. noun, as *dasasahassī pakampati*, 'ten thousand worlds quake,' comp. Senart, Mahāvastu 373.

The Ordimals

The Ordinals for five, and from seven upwards, are formed by adding the suffix *ma* to the cardinal, as *pañcama*, 'the fifth,' *sattama*, 'the seventh;' the fem. terminates in *ī* the neuter in *aṃ*, and they are declined like the corresponding subtantives.

The Ordinal forms of the first numerals are : one, *paṭhama*; two, *dutiya*; three, *tatiya*; four, *catuttha* ; six, *chaṭṭha ; saṭṭha* (only known from Kacc. 200) and *chaṭṭhama*, Jāt. i. 22, Bv. ii. 142.

From twenty upwards we have two forms, one by adding *ma* to the cardinal in *ti*, as *vīsatima*, 'the twentieth;'and one by dropping the termination *ti*, as *vīsa, tiṃsa*, etc.

From *sataṃ, sahassaṃ*, we have the ordinals *satama, sahassama*.

Besides, we have fem. ordinals in *ī* to designate the day of the month; as *pañcamī*, the fifth day;' *ekādasī*, 'the eleventh day,' etc.

19. Conjugation

The division of the Pāli Verb, as established by the native grammarians, is on the whole the same as that of the Skt. They admit of seven classes, of which the first again is divided into four conjugations; these correspond to the classes i., vi., ii., iii. of the Sanskṛit grammarians, and the other six classes to the remaining Sanskrit classes in the following order, vii., iv., v., ix., viii., Thus, we obtain the following divisions of the Pāli Verb :

First class : (a) Verbs terminating in *ī, ū* or a consonant, which take guṇa and the vowel *a* : √*bhū, bhavāmi*, 'to be.'

(b) Verbs ending in consonants which take the vowel *a*, but no guṇa : √*tud, tudāmi*, 'to pierce.'

(c) Verbs ending in vowels which take guṇa, but add the personal endings without an intervening vowel : √*i, emi* 'to go'.

(d) Verbs forming their bases by reduplication ; √*hū junomi*, 'to sacrifice.'

The third division (c) is gives in the Dhātumañjūsā as *huvādsyo*, where *hū* is another from of the of the root *bhū*, 'to be,' forming its present *homi*.

Second class : Verbs taking the *a*-vowel and inserting a nasal before the final consonant of the root : √*rudh, rundhāmi*, 'to play.'

Third class : Verbs adding the suffix *ya, yā* to the root : √*div, dibbāmi*, 'to play.'

Fourth class : Verbs adding the suffix √*ṇā, ṇu* (which becomes *ṇo* by guṇa) or *uṇā* to the root : √*çru, suṇāmi or suṇomi*, 'to hear ;' √*āp, pāpuṇāmi*, 'to attain.'

Fifth class : Verbs ending in a vowel, which add the suffix *nā* to the root : √*krī, kiṇāmi*, 'to buy.'

Sixth class : Verbs ending in a consonant, which add *u* (or *o* by guṇa) to the root : √*tan, tanomi*, 'to stretch.'

Seventh class . Verbs adding the suffix *aya* (or *e* by contraction) to the root : √*cur, corayāmi* or *coremi*, 'to steal.'

Verbs have two voices, the *Parassapada* or Transitive, and the *Attanopada* or Intransitive; the use of the latter is much more restricted than in Sanskrit, most of the Attanopada verbs having adopted the Parassapada terminations.

We distinguish in Pāli, as in Sanskrit, special and general tenses. It must, however, be observed of one another, as will be shown hereafter.

Special Tenses

(1) Present Indicative, Subjunctive, Optative and Imperative.

(2) Imperfect.

General Tenses

(1) Perfect.

(2) Aorist.

(3) Future.

(4) Conditional.

Terminations of the Present Indicative.

Parassapada		Attanopada	
Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
mi	*ma*	*e*	*mhe (make, mha)*
si	*tha*	*se*	*vhe*
ti	*nti*	*te*	*nte, re*

These terminations are very similar to the corresponding ones in Sanskrit. In the first pers. pl. of the Attan. we sometimes find the fuller form in *mahe*, as *bhasmībhavāmahe*, Mah. 6; the termination *mha* shortened form *mhe* occurs in *dadamha*, Dh. 188, *maññamha*, Dh. 205 (the long *ā* is crasis for the *i* of the following *iti*, see above, p. 42). Instead of *ante* in the third pers. pl. we frequently meet with the termination *are*, especially in old texts, metrical as well as prosaical, as *miyyare*=mriyante, 'they die,' Das. Jāt. 34; *udiccare* form udīksh, 'they looked,' M.I. 15, 6; *adhikīrare,* 'they overwhelm,' Jāt. iii. 57.This *are* is most probally the vedic termination *re* of the third pers. pl. ātmanep. as in çṛnvire; it also exists in Prāk. Hem. iii. 142.

We have to consider first the verbs that add the terminations immediately to the root (which form the second class in Sanskrit, in

Pāli division (c) of the first class). The paradigm adopted by the native grammarians is *hū*=bhū, 'to be' It forms its present as follows :

homi	*homa*
hosi	*hotha*
hoti	*honti*

Other roots belonging to this class are those terminating in *ā*, like *yā*, 'to go,' *vā*, 'to blow,' which have entirely the same inflexion as in Skt., only that they shorten the ā in the third pers. pl., *yanti*=Skt. yānti. Besides, the root *yā* may follow the third class, as in *yāyanti*, M. v. 9, 4. *Ṭhā*=sthā, 'to stand,' forms its present *ṭhāti* and *tiṭṭhati*, *e.g.*, *ṭhāta*, Dh. 123, *saṃṭhāti*, Dh. 429 ; form *dā* we have a present, *dāti*, Kacc. 264, imper. first pers. pl. *anipadāmase*, Jāt. iii. 120 (explained by the commentary *nikārapakārā upasaggā dāmase ti attho*). *Pajjhāti*, Jāt. iii. 534, is most probably derived from *jhā*=kshā, 'to decay,' comp. *pajjhāyi, pajjhāyasi, Suttavibh.* i. 19, ii. 5. From *dhyā* we have *pajjhyāyanto*, 'groaning,' Mil. 5, if Trenckner's translation is correct, and according to Senart, Mahāvastu 377, also the present *āvajjati* and *āvajjeti*, 'to consider,' which would have dropped the aspiration. From *snā*, 'to bathe,' we have an imper. *nahāhi* belonging to this class, Jāt.ii. 325. From *ṭhāti* and *dhāti*=*dadhāti* we come to the forms *ṭhahati* and *dahati* which are in very freqent use in Pāli.

Of verbs terminating in *i* we have to mention here besides *i* and *çī*, which belong to this class also in Skt., nī, 'to lead,' çri, 'to lean,' ji, 'to conquer,' ḍī and ḷī, 'to fly.' I seems to form its present very much as in Skt., for the first and second pers. pl. of course we get *ema, etha,* instead of imas, ita; for the third pl. Childers adduces a form *samudayanti* form Brahmajālas. Atth. which is formed from *samudenti* by false analogy. In the present *vyapanenti* quoted by Minayeff, p. xxxii. from Udānagāthā and in *vassūpanāyika*, M. iii. 2, 2, we have derivations from *i* with the prepositions *apan* and *upan* respectively, which make them look as though they were derived from *nī*, comp. Vinaya Texts, i. xxxvii. A present *ayati* belonging to the *bhūclass* is given in Dhm., but has not yet been found in any text.

Çi form its present *semi*, Cariy. ii. 2,3, third pl. *senti*, Dh. 28 ; in the part. we have *semāna*. Jāt. i. 180, Mah. 49; *sayamāna*, Att. 218.

Nī forms *neti* and *nayati* according to Kacc. 261; part, *upanento*, Dh. 154; gerund *apanetvā* instead of °*nītvā* by false analogy.

Çri forms a presen *apasseti*, C. vi. 20, 2, comp. *apassena* for *apaçrayana*.

Ji has the present *jayati, jeti* and *jināti*, Kacc, 261; opt. *jeyya* for *jayeyya*, Dh. v. 103.

Dī (and ḷī) forms its present *ḍeti*, Gr. 136. There are two compounds of this root, *aḍḍeti* and *uḍḍeti*, the explanation of which causes considerable difficulty. *Oḍḍeti* occurs the signification 'to place, to lay nets,' Jāt. i. 274, ii. 443, 5, 52, 153, 182, 238, Suttavibh. i. 22 (v. l. *oṭṭi*, Buddh. *oḍḍhī ti abhimukhaṃ ṭhapesi*), *uḍḍeti*, 'to cast a net,' Ang. i. 24, 4. Morris, in a note to this last passage, identifies the two forms, and he is no doubt right, but I believe *uḍḍeti* to be the original one, and *oḍḍeti*, 'a later change'. Instead of *omāna*, Jāt.ii.443, vs.1, we ought to read *ḍemāna*. A causative of the same root is *uṭṭepeti*, 'to frighten away,' M. i. 51, comp. uḍḍāpita, Çatr. 10, 91, and perhaps *niḍḍāyati*, Jāt. i. 215, *niddāpeti*, C. vii. 1,2; but these two might also belong to dā, dyati. In Prāk. we have uḍḍihiyaṃ, Pālyal. 182.

The root brū, which is generally given as paradigm of this class in Skt., shows the following conjugation in Pālī :

Parassapada		Attanopada	
brūmi	*brūma*	*brave*	*brūmhe*
brūsi	*brūtha*	*buūse*	*brūvhe*
brūti, bravī	*bravanti*	*brūte*	*bravante*

The root han has *hanti* in the third pers. sing., but *hanati*, Mil. 220, *hananti* in the third pl., Dh. 64, for Skt. ghnanti.

Vac forms *vatti* and *vacati*, according to Saddanīti, but these forms have not yet been found in any text.

The root as, 'to be,' has the following inflexion :

asmi, amhi	*asma, amha*
asi	*attha*
atthi	*santi*

At Jāt. iii. 309 we have a curious first pers. pl., *amhase*, which looks like an imperf. attanop. but is used like a present.

The synonymous root *acchati* is proved beyond doubt to belong to ās, from which it proceeds through the aorist *acchi*, see Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 61, Pischel, Gött. Anz. 1865, p. 627, Torp. 88. We find the compound *samacchati*, in the original signification, 'to sit down,' Jāt. ii. 67. The aorist *acchi* occurs Dh. 158, Suttavibh. i. 35.

The present *pāheti*, 'to send,' also belongs to this class, although

it is given by the grammarians among the *svādayo* and *tanādayo*. The ā in the first syllable shows that it is only deduced by false analogy from the aorist *pāhesi* = Skt. prāhaishīt, but it is considered as a genuine present in Pāli.

As a paradigm of division (d) of the first class, I give here the conjugation of the root *hu*, 'to sacrifice.'

juhomi.	*juhoma.*
juhosi.	*juhotha.*
juhoti, juvhati.	*juhonti, juvhanti*

Besides, there seems to be a new root, *juh* taken from the special base, and inflected with the vowel a, as in *juhamāna*, Jāt. ii. 399 ; and from this is also derived the subst. *juhana*, 'sacrifice,' Jāt. i. 493, wrongly spelt *jūhana*, Gr. 16.

Other roots belonging to this class are those ending in *ā*, some of which I have already mentioned : *hā* forms the present *juhāti*, but we find also *vijahati*, Dh. 99, 261, from a new root, *jah*.

Dā and dhā can also have the regular forms *dadāti* and *dadhāti*, besedes the new ones mentioned above, and from *dadāmi* is also derived the contracted form *dammi* = dadmi, pl. *damma*, Dh. 123, 129; Jāt. i. 127, etc. Besides we have a present *demi*, which shows exactly the same inflexion as *emi*, 'I go ;' Childers derives it either from the Skt. dayate, or by false analogy from the imper. *dehi detu*, but I confess that none of these explanations seems to me quite satisfactory.

From dhā we have *nidheti*, Kh. 12; *nidhetuṃ*, Khuddasikkhā, xxxi. 2; and besides a distracted form *daheti* (analogous to *dahati* from *dhāti*) in the aorist *pidahesi*, Mah. 4, and the future *paridahessati*, Dh. v. 9. Pass. *antaradhāyati*.

From sthā we have the imp. *uṭṭhehi*, Rev.v.3; Dīp. 60; *niṭṭhāyati*, C.v.26, generally *niṭṭhāti*. From hnu, Kacc. 135 gives the present *hanute*, but the Dhm. omits this root altogether.

The division (*a*) of the first class has considerably encroached on most of the other classes. Nearly all the roots terminating in *u* or a consonant, and belonging to the second class of the Skt. have migrated into this class in Pāli : lih forms *lehati*, Jāt. i. 19; *lehentā*, Jāt. ii. 31 ; Suttavibh, i. 46; duh : *dohati*, Kacc. 144; *but duhanti*, ib. 141; rud : *rodati* and *rudati*, Jāt. iii. 214; *rodāmi*, Das. Jāt. 33. Vetti, from vid, 'to know,' is entirely lost in Pāli, and generally replaced by *jānāti*. We

find, however, a present *vindati* formed according to the 6th class of the Skt., and *vijjati*=vidyate; besides *vedeti* and *vediyati*, Mil. 60; Suttavibh. ii. 167; Part. *vedayita*, Mil. 60. From jāgar, 'to watch,' we have the present *jāgarati*, Dh. 8, 11, 41, and *jaggati*, Dh. 201; Jāt. iii. 403; comp. the Prāk. forms jāgaraï and jaggaï, Hem. iv. 80; from daridrā, 'to be poor,' the Dhm. gives *daliddati*; but this form has not yet been found in any text. In some cases the form *e* is only due to false analogy, as in the fut. *gahessati*, and aorist *aggahesi*, from gṛh, see Childer's 'Corrigenda,' s. v.

Ḍaç, 'to bide,' forms *ḍasanto, ḍasitvā* and *ḍaṃsento, ḍaṃsetvā, ḍasāpetvā, ḍaṃsāpetvā*,Ten. Jāt. 42, 43, 44, 54.

Dhmā, 'to blow,' forms *dhamati* and *dhanreti*; besides we have a reduplicated form *dhamādhamayati*, Mil. 117; *niddhamana*, 'a water-course,' is also derivd from this root.

The root *vī* or *ve*, 'to weave,' is given in the Dhm. among those that follow the first conjugation, and indeed we find an infinitive vetuṃ, C. vi. 2, 6; a present *abbeti* occurs, Jāt.iii.34, where Fausböll has altered it into *appeti*, comp. Trenckner, P.M. 64. A new present *vināti*, formed according to the fifth class, occurs Jāt. ii. 302; and besides we have the regular passive *vīyati* or *viyyati*, Pāt. 11.

Vad, 'to speak,' supplying the lost special tenses of vac forms its present *vadati* and *vadeti*. The Dhm. only gives a root vad with the signification 'to praise' following *corayāmi*. Besides, *vajj* may be substituted throughout all the tenses, according to Kacc. 254 (derived no doubt, from the opt. *vajju*. Jāt. ii. 322), *e.g. vajjāsi*, Jāt. iii. 443, comp. vivādyanti, Mahāvastu, p. 378.

Tas=tras, 'to tremble,' forms its present regularly *tasati*, Dh. 24; we find, however, an aorist *vitthāsi*, Kamm. 4, a present *vitthāyati*, M. i. 76, 3; C. x. 17, 3 and a participle *vitthata* Mil. 36; for *vitthata* com. Prāk. hittha, Hem. ii. 136, P. Goldschmidt's remarks 'Setubandha,' ii. 42; *vitthāsi* reminds one of a form trāhi, Lalitavistara, p. 286, which I have corrected into trāsi (Der Dialekt der Gāthās des Lal. p. 284), and *vitthāyanti* seems to be formed after the false analogy of this aorist in the same ways as *pāheti* from *pāhesi*.

Tud forms *vitūdati* with lengthening *nittūdana*, Mahāparin. 54, besides *vitudaṃ* (?) Dh. 146; from *khan*, 'to dig,' we have an irregular inf. *nikhātuṃ*, Cariy. iii. 6, 16.

Ruh forms *abhirohati, abhirūhati* with lengthening, and even *abhiruhati*.

Bhī, 'to fear,' forms *bhāyati*, comp. Hem. iv. 53. The reduplicated form bibheti is entirely lost in Pāli. The Imper. *bhātha*, Jāt. i. 26, is contracted from *bhāyatha*.

Svap, 'to sleep,' from supati; Part. *sumanta*, Mil. 368.

Vyath, 'to tremble,' is also given under this class in Dhm., but I have only found it under the form *vedhati*. At C. vii. 4, 6, Oldenberg has suggested to read *vyathati* for the senseless *vyādhati*. The causative is *vedheti*, Trenckner, P.M. 76.

The second class of the Pāli, corresponding originally to the seventh of the Skt. forms its present after the fashion of those verbs of the sixth class which adopt *n* : so we obtain from *rudh* a present *rundhāmi*, just as we have from *vid, vindāmi*, Kacc. 238 gives besides the forms *rundhiti, rundhīti, rundheti*, of which the last occurs also in the imper. *rundhehi*, Cariy. iii. 10, 7 (where, however, the corresponding passage of the Jāt. i. 332, reads *randhehi*). About the passive *rumh*, see above, p. 26.

The other roots belonging to this class, as muc, 'to realease,' chid, 'to cut,' lip, 'to smear,' bhuj, 'to eat,' are regular.

The third class comprises the verbs that take the suffix *ya* (with assimilation of *y* to the consonant terminating the root). Some of the verbs belonging to this class are real passives, as *vijjati*, 'to be found, to exist,' pass. of *vidati; udriyati*, 'to go to ruin,' from dar, dṛṇāti, M. iii 8, 1; Suttavibh. ii. 254. Others have adopted the meaning of actives, as *bujjhati* from budh, 'to know, to understand,' *sibbati* from *sīv*, 'to sew,' *dajjati* is most probably not the Skt. dadyate only given by grammarians, but a derivation from the opt. *dajjā*, just as *vajjati* from *vajjā* (see above, p. 74).

Mar forms the present *marati* and *mīyati* or *miyyati*. At Saddhammop. vs. 139, we find *marīyati*, which certainly is not classical.

Jar, 'to decay,' forms *jīyati* or *jiyyati* and *jīrati*; besides we have *jūrasi* in a passage quoted by Childers, J.R.A.S. xi. 110, from an unknown author. Comp. Prāk. Jūraï, Hem. iv. 132.

Çar, 'to throw down,' froms *seyyasi*=çīryasi, Jāt. i. 174. Part. visiṇṇa=viçīrṇa.

Lū, 'to reap,' forms *lāyeti*,. Das. 31, Jāt. i. 215; *lāyeti*, Suttavibh. i. 64; *lāveti*, with change of *y* to *v*, Kacc. 262; lāpayati, Mah. 61, and the regular lunāti, Kacc. 238.

Gā, 'to sing,' forms *gāyati*, Dh. 85; imper. *gāhi*, Jāt. iii. 507.

The fourth class corresponds to the fifth of the Skt.; but most of the verbs belonging to it can also form their present according to the ninth, by adding the suffix nā to the root. From çru, 'to hear,' we have the present *suṇoti* and *suṇāti,* imper. *suṇohi* and *suṇāhi,* inf. *suṇituṃ,* Mil. 91. Form ci, 'to collect,' we have *cināti,* Dh. 209; vinicchinati, Dh. 377; *ocināyatu,* Cariy. iii. 6, 7; *saṃcinoti,* Att. 200; part. *saṃcayanto,* according to the first class, Mah. 127. Roots ending in a consonant can assimilate the *n* to this consonant, or insert *u* before the Suff. nu or *nā, e.g. pappoti, pāpuṇoti* and *pāpuṇāti,* from √āp, 'to attain,' *sakkoti* and *sakkunāti* (where the second *k* is due to the false analogy of *sakkoti*), from √çak, 'to be able;' *sakkāti* occurs Saddhammop. v. 385, and a shortened form sakkati is induced by Childers from Nāvā S. and Saddanīti.

Gar, 'to sound,' forms *anugiṇāti*=anugṛṇāti, 'he answers,' Kacc. 139. Besides we have *uggirati*, 'to rattle,' Jāt. i. 150; Pāt. 18.

Abhisambhuṇoti, 'to obtain,' Lotus, 313, Pāt. vii., is referred by Childers to be root bhṛī of the Dhātupāṭha, and this explanation is adopted with some hesitation by Senart Mahāvastu 406. The Dhm. gives an especial root *sambhu.*

Sumbhoti, Kacc. 238, is perhaps identical with Skt. çubh, çubhnāti, 'to kill,' comp. Mahāvastu, 381. The Dhm. gives a root *sumbh,* 'to beat,' following the first class, and Jāt. iii. 185, we have sumhāmi, v. 1. sumbhāmi explained by paharāmi.

Form var, 'to cover,' we have several forms according to this class; Trenckner, P.M. 63, gives the following : *vaṇimhase,* Jāt. ii. 137; *apāpuṇanti*, It. 84, v. 2; *vaṇomi,* Jāt. 513, v. 14; *āvunitvā,* 'having pierced,' Cariy. iii. 12, 2; *saṃvuṇoti* and *saṃvuṇāti*, Kacc. 238, But it can also follow the first class as *vivarati* (*vivuṇāti* seems not to exist), *saṃvarati,* Mil. 152; *pāpurati* and *pārupati*, 'to dress;' *avapurati,* F. J. 29; *avāpuriyati,* Jāt i. 63 (comp. *avāpurana,* 'a key,' Ab. 222).

The fifth class corresponds to the ninth of the Skt., but includes also some verbs belonging originally to other classes. The Pāli grammarians reckon among this class several verbs which originally belong to the fifth class of the Skt., like *cināti*, 'to collect,' *dhunāthi,* 'to shake,' Skt. cinoti, dhunoti. About *jināti* see above, p. 72. From *pū,* 'to purify,' we have *opunāti,* Dh. v. 252; Jāt. i. 467; Mahāparin. 49. From *kiṇāti,* 'to buy,' we have an irregular inf. *ketuṃ,* Jāt. iii. 282.

Mush, 'to steal,' forms its present *musati,* Ras. 32; pamussati derives most probably not from must but from *smṛsh*, see above, p. 40.

Aç, 'to eat,' forms *asnāti,* Mettānisaṃsā, vs. 8; imper. asnātha, Mahāparin. 59.

Mā, 'to measure,' forms *mināti*, caus. *mināpeti,* Jāt.ii.378; *nimimhase,* Jāt.ii. 369, Dh. 417.

Badh forms bandhati instead of *badhnāti* with a metathesis similar to that of *rundhati*=runaddhi; *lag*, 'to stick,' forms *laggati*=lagnāti, besides lagati after the first. Form *math*, 'to grind,' we have abhimatthati= abhimsthnāti.

Jñā forms *jānāti* regularly; from gṛh we have *gaṇhāti* and *gaṇhati*, Dh. 160.

Other verbs following this class are *mun*=man, 'to think,' in *munāti,* comp. Hem. iv.7; Fausb. S. N. 169 : and *thun*=stan, 'to thunder' in *thunanti* (meaning 'to proclaim,' which points really to a confusion of the roots stan and stu, as one would think from Dhm). Rev.3; *anutthunāti,* Dh. 28, 323. From the same root we have *thanayaṃ,* Mahāsamayas. vs. 23; *thanita,* Att. 210; Jāt. i. 64. *nitthananta*, Jāt. ii. 362; *nitthanamāna*, Jāt.i.463.

The sixth class corresponds to the eighth of the Skt. In Pāli, however, in this case the root kar, 'to do,' can form its present quite regularly in the following way :

karomi.	*karoma.*
karosi.	*karotha.*
karoti.	*karonti.*

Besides, we have a form *kummi* for the first pers. sing. Jāt. ii. 435, to which we may compare kurumi, Lalitavistara, 270. In the attanopada we have *kurute,* Dh. 9, 39, Mah. 219; and, besides, *kubbati,* Kace. 261; *vikubbati,* Jāt. iii. 114.; *tan* has *tanomi* regularly.

The Dhm. reckons several more roots to this class, fo which some have been dealt with before, and others do not occur in any text, so that we need not mention them here.

The seventh class comprises the denominative verbs, the causatives, and a few primitive verbs, which have migrated into it from other classes. the inflexion fo these is the same as of the verbs terminating in *i* or *ī* which belong to the first class, as ji. çī, nī, etc, *aya* can always be contracted into *e,* and also *ayi* of the past and future

undergoes very often the same change. Even verbs in *āyati* can be contracted, as *paleti* for *palāyati*, Dh. v. 49.

Among this class I also reckon verbs like *āgilāyati*, 'to be weary, to pain,' C. vii. 4, 2, which is given by the Dhm. as belonging to the third. A doubtful word is *saṃkāyati*, C. x. 18, with the v. l. *sahāyati*.

Primitive verbs that occasionally take the suffix of this class are vac in *vacehi*, Dh. 159. vad in *vademi, vadehi*, Ras. 21, *dajj* in *dajjehi*, M. vi. 23, 3; Suttavibh. i. 217, tud in *vitudeti*, Suttavibh i. 105. About *vediyati* and *vedayita* see above, p. 74.

Imperative

Parassapada		Attanopada	
mi	*ma*	*e*	*mase*
hi or°	*the*	*ssu*	*vho*
tu	*nti*	*taṃ*	*ntaṃ*

Mi is most probably transferred from the present by false analogy. In the second person the short from without suffix is not so frequent as in Skt. We find hi also in such cases where we are not accustomed to see it in Skt., as in *gaṇhāhi* for *gaṇha*=gṛhṇa. From gacch we have *gacchahi*, Kacc. 248, besides *gacchāhi*. *Paṭimāse*, Dh. v. 379, is contracted from *paṭimāsaya*. The termination *tha* of the second pers. pl. is evidently taken from the present, *e.g.* etha, passatha, Dh. v. 171, *brūtha*, Jāt. iii. 520. From aç, 'to eat,' we have *asnātha* Mahāparin. 59.

The termination *ssu* of the second pers. sing. attanop., derived from Skt. sva, is very frequent even in verbs which follow the parassapada inflexion, *e.g.*, *bhavassu*, Dh. v. 371, *pilandhassu*, Mil. 337, *āsassu*, 'relate,' Gr. 118 for *āsasassu*, comp. Kacc. 288; third pers. *labhataṃ*, Mahāpar. 62. The termination *mase* of the first pers. pl. is either very old or very modern (comp. for the first eventuality Kuhn, p. 101, for the second, Torp, p. 47); besides we have one instance of a form terminating in *mahaṃ, gacchāmahaṃ*, Dh. 86. For the curious form in *vho* of the second pers. pl. (we would expect *vhaṃ*=Skt. dhvaṃ) I can only adduce one example, *nivattavho*, Jāt. ii. 358.

The form of the root is the same in the imperative as in the indicative. Thus we have from çru, second pers. sing., *suṇohi* Att. 134; from kar, second pers, sing, *karohi*, Dh. 42; besides *kuru*, Mah. 18, 61, second pl. *karotha*, first pers. pl. attan. *karomase*, Jāt. ii. 258.

From dā we have the Skt. form *dehi,* besides *dadāhi,* Jāt. iii. 109; *dajja* and even *dajjehi,* M. vi 23, 3.

From *as* a second pers. sing. *āhi* is given by Childers and Minayeff, but has not yet been found in any text. The form is always expressed by *bhava, bhavassu,* or *hohi,* Dh. 187.

About the existence of the attanop. forms of kar and dā given by Minayeff, section 178, 179, I feel very doubtful.

Subjunctive

The subjunctive in Pāli has been discovered by Pischel, K.Z xxiii. 424, who adduces a few examples from Dh. and Jāt. It differs from the indicative only by the lengthening of the vowel *a*. Farther instances are paṭibhaṇāti, Jāt. iii. 404, *hanāsi,* Jāt. iii. 199, and perhaps *dahāsi, dahāti,* Fausb. S.N. 161, 169.

Optative

Parassapada		Attanopada	
eyyāmi, e, eyya	*eyyāma, ema*	*eyyaṃ*	*eyyāmhe*
eyyāsi, e, eyya	*eyyātha, etha*	*etho*	*eyyavho*
eyya, e	*eyyuṃ*	*etha*	*eraṃ*

This form of the optative originated from contraction of the optative suffix *īya* with the *a* of the first class, but it is in use with the other classes as well. When stems end in a vowel, this vowel is dropped before the e of the termination, as, *e.g., dadeyya,* and even *deyya,* from *dadāti.*

Roots terminating in *ā*, and following division (c) of the first class form their optative by inserting *y,* as *yāyeyya*, from yā, Pāt. 110, *nhāyeyya* from *nahā*=snā, *nibbāyeyya* from nirvā, 'to be extinguished;' from the last we have besides an abbreviated form *parinibbaye,* Das.6.

The forms of the sing. in *e* are requent enough in older texts, as *ānaye* (first pers.), Jāt. i. 308; *labhe*, Cariyāp. i. 1, 9; *rode*, Jāt. iii. 165; *nivase* (first and second pers.) Jāt. iii. 259, 262; *pāpune* (third pers.) C. vii. 4, 8; *dade*, Cariy. i. 3, 8. In Khuddasikkhā we find even a third sing. *de.*

The termination *eyya* of the first pers. originated from *eyyaṃ* after the nasal had been dropped; it is a form of the parassap. identical with the Skt. eyam, as we can see from instances like *deseyyaṃ*, Dhp. 119, *puccheyyaṃ*, Pāt. 1, etc.

The first sing. in *eyyāmi*, as far as I know, is only given by grammarians as *heyyāmi*, *bhaveyyāmi*, *huveyyāmi*, from Rūpasiddhi, at Alwis Introd. 48, in the second we have *e* and *eyyāsi*, as *sikkheyyāsi*, Jāt. i. 162, *ādareyyāsi*, Dh. 248, once *eyya* in *yājeyya*, Jāt. iii. 515; in the third *e* and *eyya*. One instance of the fuller form *eyyāti* occurs : *jāneyyāti*, C. vii. 3, 4. In the first pers. pl. we have *emasi, emu,* and *ema*, as *vidamemasi*, Jāt. iii. 261, *passemu*, Jāt. iii. 495, *jānemu*, Kasībhāradvājas. vs. 1, Dh. 96, and *dakkhema*, Mahāsamayas. vs. 25; generally *eyyāma*.

In the second pl. we have only one instance of the shorter form *samāsetha* in the phrase *sabbhir eva samāsetha*; besides we have *eyyātha* in *āgameyyātha*, Cariy. i. 8, 5, *saṃvatteyyātha*, Dh. 215. In the third pl. we have always *eyyuṃ*=Skt. eyus.

The second sing. attanop. in *etho*, and the third in *etha*, are formed after the old fashion=Skt. ethās, eta; the third is very frequent also in such verbs which otherwise follow the parassap. inflexion, as *rakkhetha*, Dh. v. 36, *abhittharetha*, v. 116, and in passives, as *jayetha,* Dh. v. 58, from √jan. Besides, we have *āgaccheyyātho, manasikareyyātho* given by Alwis, Cat. 184, from Moggallāna's grammar. The first and second pers. pl. do not occur in any text, but the third is frequent, as *bhaveraṃ, gaccheraṃ*, etc.

Shortened forms of the regular opt. occur of some roots in *ā*, as sthā and dhā : *adhiṭṭheyya* for *adhiṭṭhāyeyya*, Khudd. 16, *apanidheyya*, Pāt.16, and so we ought to read *parinibbeyaṃ* instead of *parinibbāyi*, Dīp. i. 24. From roots ending in *i* we have *niccheyya*, Dh. v. 256. for *nicchayeyya*, from nis+ci, *anabhineyya*, Pāt. 4, *vineyya*, Khudd. 31, from nī; *jeyya* from ji, Dh.v.103; from *i* we have *abbheyya,* Pāt. 6, second *eyyāsi*, Pāt. ii. 535. From *hū*=bhū : *huveyya* and *hupeyya* according to the Burmese writing, M. i. 6, 9; Trenckner,Pāli. Misc. 62; besides, we have a contracted form *heyya*, only known from Rūpasiddhi ap. Alwis Introd. 48. but yet found in any text.

The optatives of the seventh class can be shortened in two different ways; from *corayeyya* we get *coraye* on one side and *coreyya* on the other; from *bhāvyāmi* contracted third sing. attanop. *bhāvetha*, Dh. v.87 for *bhāvayetha*.

Besides this regular form of the optative, which corresponds to the optative of the Skt. first principal conjugation (comprising the first, fourth, sixth, and tenth classes), we have a few rests of the optative of the second principal conjugation.

Some of the roots ending ending in *ā* can form, besides the regular optatives of the type *dadeyya* and *deyya* given above, the old *dajjā* = Skt. dadyāt, Dh. v. 224; first pers. dajjaṃ Mah. 63. *dajjāhaṃ* M. iii. 8, 1, and *dajjāmi*, Mah. 8. From this optative *dajjā* was formed the verbal base *dajjati* (see above, p. 75) and this can again take the terminations of the optative, as in *dajjeyya*, Kacc. 256, *anuppadajjeyya*, Pāt. 11; first pl. *anuppadajjeyyāma*, Pāt. 11.

Form jñā we have *jāniyā*, corresponding to Skt. jānīyāt with shortening of the *ī* and contracted from this *jaññā*; besides a form after the analogy of the verbs with vowel *a*, as *jāneyya*.

Form *as*, 'to be', we have an old optative which preserves throughout the *a* of roop dropped in Skt. :

assaṃ	*assāma*
assa	*assatha*
assa, siyā	*assu, siyuṃ*

The first pers. *assaṃ* occurs, Dh. 186 the second *assa*, Jāt. iii. 515, in the third both forms are equally frequent; *assāma* is found in Saccavibhanga, *assu*, Dh. v. 74, Jāt. ii. 425.

Form vad, 'to speak,' we have a second sing. *vajjāsi*, Jāt. ii. 443; third pl. *vajju*, Jāt. ii. 322, explained by the regular forms *vadeyyāsi* and *vadeyyuṃ*. By false analogy of this opataive we have a present *vajjāmi* (just like *dajjāmi*, from *dajjaṃ*), *vajjemi* and a secondary optative *vajjeyya* given by Kacc. vi. 4, 19.

Kar forms its opt. in the parassap. third pers. sing. *kare* and *kareyya*, Dh. v. 43, Kacc. 263, pl. *kareyyātha*, Dh. 147, *kareyyuṃ*, Dh. 187; attanop. *kubbetha*, C. vii. 4, 8. Besides, we have an old opt. *kayirā* or *kayira* from karyāt instead of kuryāt, attan. *kayirātha* or *kayiratha*.

Āp forms the old opt. *pappuyya*=prāpnuyāt, Das. 37, C. vi.4, 4.

Imperfect and Aorist

First formation

Parassapada		Attanopada	
aṃ a	*amha*	...	*amhase*
a o	*attha,*	*ase, ū*	*avhaṃ*
ā a	*uṃ*	*attha*	*atthuṃ*

Second formation

Parassapada		Attanopada	
iṃ	*imha*	...	*imhe*
i	*ittha*	*ise, ittho*	*ivhaṃ*
i	*iṃsu, isuṃ*	*ittha*	

The first form belongs to the imperfect and simple or strong aorist, which cannot be distinguished in Pāli, the second to the weak aorist, which is formed by adding the root *as*, 'to be,' as in Greek.

A third formation is only distinguished from the second by the plus of an *s*, so that we have *siṃ* instead of *iṃ*, etc. It is used mostly in verbs ending in vowels, and in causatives.

Examples of the first sing. in aṃ : *avavaṃ*, Dh. 242, *addaṃ* and *addasaṃ*, 'I saw,' Jāt. iii. 380, Anecd. 35, once with the present termination *addasāmi*, Oldenberg, K.Z. xxv. 320, *addasa*, M. ix. 1, 5, where the reading of the MSS. ought not to be changed; from dā we have *adaṃ*, Jāt. iii. 411. Cariy. i.9, 30; from bhū *ahuṃ*, Jāt.iii.411; from çru, *assuṃ*, Jāt.iii.542.

Second pers. in *o*=as : *pamādo*, Dh. v. 371; *āsado*, Jāt. i. 414, iii. 207, C. vii. 3, 12; in *a* : *avaca*, Pāt. 99; and from a reduplicated aorist identical in its formation to the Skt. avocaṃ : *avoca*, Dh. 185, *voca*, Dh. v. 133.

In the third pers. we have ā and *a*=at : *abhavā, ahuvā*, Buddha 443, *addasa, udacchidā*, Anecd. 77, and with a curious doubling of the *d*, unexplained as yet, *acchidda*, Dh. v. 351; *amarā*, Jāt. iii. 389 (v. l. *amarī*), 'he died.' *Ajjhagamā*, Ras. 78, *papato*, C. v. 20, 5, is the only instance known of *o* in the third.

In the first pers. pl. we have *amha* or *mha* in adamha, Jāt. ii. 71; *assumha*, Jāt. ii. 400; *vuṭṭhamha*, Dīp. 79; *ahumha*, Dh. 105; besides a form corresponding to the Skt. *addasāma*, Dh. 96.

Second pers.: *ahuvattha*, Dh. 105; *avacuttha*, Pāt. 5; *dattha*, Jāt. ii. 181.

In the third pers. we have *ū, u* and *uṃ*, all representing the Skt. us. Examples in *uṃ* are very numbers; *ū* we have in *ajjhagū* from *adhigacchati*, Jāt. i. 256, *anvagū* Das. 36; and *u* in *āgu*, passim in Mahāsamayasutta. The following instances deserve notice because they form their aorist in Skt. with *s* : *aggahuṃ*; Mah. 253. *upaṭṭhahuṃ*, Mah. 132, 256, *randhayuṃ*, Dh.v.248, *abhikkāmuṃ*, Mahāsamayasutta vi. 4; *adakkhuṃ*, ib. vs. 3 corresponds to adrākshus.

The second and third sing. of the attan. in *ase*, *attha*, are influenced by the corresponding forms of the s aorist in *ise ittha* (see later on). Example are *suyattha*, Dh. 86, *adattha*, Jāt. ii. 166. Besides, we have the regular form in *tha*=Skt. ta for inst. *avocatha*, Mah. 132, *adassatha*, Mah. 199, *khīyatha* Cariy. iii. 10, 1, passive *ajāyatha*, Mah. 24.

Mhase is also influenced by the *s* aorist, and besides it is a present termination; instances are *ahuvamhase, akaramhase*, F. Jāt. 13, 38; *vaṃimhase*, Jāt. ii. 137; *nimimhase*, Dh. 417; Jāt. ii. 369; the form of the imperfect *mhasa* occurs in *akaramhasay*, Dh. 147. The second pl. in *vhaṃ* corresponds to the Skt. dhvaṃ, the third in *atthuṃ* is formed by false analogy from the sing. *attha*. Of these I have not found any instance in texts.

Brū forms *abravi* and *abruvi*, pl. *abravuṃ* and *abruvuṃ*.

From gā we have a second pers. sing. *āgā*, Fausb. S.N. 161, corresponding to Skt. agās, a third *accagā, upaccagā* and *ajjhagā*, Dh., corresponding to agāt. From sthā a third person *aṭṭhā*, Mah.78.

Form kar we have the regular forms, and besides an abridged aorist *akā*, Mah. 23, 37, corresponding to the vedic akar. Other forms of the same root will be given later on.

Labh forms an aorist *alatthaṃ*, Jāt. i. 141; second pers. *alattha* or *lattha*, Dh. 240; third *alatta*=alabdha (attan). The first and second pers. are formed after the analogy of the third.

The first sing. of the second formation is contracted from the Skt. ishaṃ, as in vedic īm; examples are *abhāṇiṃ*, Jāt. iii. 394, from *bhaṇ*, 'to speak,' *adassiṃ*, Cariy. i. 2, from darç, 'to see,' *udātariṃ* from tar, Jāt. ii. 317; *upāgamiṃ*, Jāt. iii. 373; *ovādim*, Bv. xxvi. 4; we also have a form in *i* without the nasal *aggahi*, Jāt. iii. 373; *upāgami*, Cariy. i. 195; *nimmini*, Cariy. ii. 6, 11; passive *ajāyi*, Cariy. iii. 5, 1. Sometimes we find *issaṃ*, with a double instead of a single *s*, as in *sandhavissaṃ*, Dh. v. 153 (comp. Childers' Notes on Dhamm. 4, Trenckner, P.M. 65); *nandissaṃ*, Jāt. 432, vs.9, and most probably *titikkhisssaṃ*, Dh.v.320; some forms with a single *s* are given by Oldenberg, K.Z.xxv.320; with change of *i* to *a* (Trenckner, p. 75), we have *icchasaṃ*, S. R. vii. 14, vs. 1, 6; *pamādassaṃ*, M. N. 130; Ang. iii. 4, 6.

In the second pers. we have *i* or *ī* in poetry when a long syllable is required, as in *ādiyi*, Suttavibh. i. 44; *kandī, gilī*, Dh. v. 371; *agamī*, Mah. 6. In the third person we have the same termination in *āviñji*,

Suttavibh. i. 127; *vedī*, Dh. v. 423; *abhinimmi* from *abhinimṃāti*, Dh. 315; *akari* from kar, F. Jāt. 13; or a new form in *isi*, as *agacchisi*, Mah 206; *antaradhāyisi*, Mah. 112; *ajāyisi*, Mah. 18,20.

In the first pers. pl. we have *imka*=ishma, as in *sarimha*, Dh. 188; *labhima*, Dh. 236; *apāyimha*, Jāt. i. 360; in the second *ittha*= ishṭa, as in *saḍḍhayittha*, Dh. 123; *daditttha*, Dh. 238; and in third *iṃsu* or *isuṃ*= ishus.

In the attanopada the second pers. ise as given by the grammarians, is not found in any text (just like ase of the first formation); we find instead *ittho*=ishṭhās in *atimaññittho*, Ten. Jāt. 40; *asajjittho*, Jāt. i. 297; *akkamittho*, Bv. ii. 53 (always spelt with the dental group)

In the third pers. we have *ittha*=ishṭa, as in *pasārayittha*, Jāt. i. 135; *āsaṅkittha*, Jāt. i. 151, and several passive forms given by Kacc. 289-293; comp. similar forms in the Mahāvastu, Senart's ed. p. 378.

In the first pers. pl. we have *imhe*; second, *ivhaṃ*; but these forms have not yet been found in any text. The third pl. terminates in *iṃsu, isuṃ*, or in *uṃ*, as *upagacchuṃ*, Mahāparin. 21 (see above, p. 82).

The first sing. of the third formation terminates in the *siṃ*, as *aññāsiṃ*, Pāt. 95; *cintesiṃ*, Dh. 206; or *si*, as *cintesi*, Cariy. i. 8. 1; *adāsi*, Cariy. i. 9, 47 *paccanñāsi*, M. I. 6, 27, 28, where the reading of the MSS. should be followed.

Second pers. *si*, as *akāsi*, Suttavibh. i. 44. with assimilation *potivekkhi*, M. vi. 23, 8, and third the same as *adhosi*, Fausb. S. N. 150; *nimāsi*, Mah. 27; *avatthāsi*, Suttavibh. i. 79, from *avattharati*, *padhūpāsi*, M. I. 15, 4, Suttavibh. ii. 109, 132. *Udānesi*, Jāt. 141; with assimilation *sakkhi*, Jāt. iii. 424; *akkocchi*, Dh. v. 4; *acchecchi*, Buddha, 441 (spelt wrongly *acchejji*, ib. 434); from kar, *akāsi*= akārshīt; from har, *vihāsi*.

First pl. *simha*=sishma in *adāsimha*, Jat. iii. 120; second *sittha*=sishṭa.

The third pl. in *siṃsu* is not found, but is replaced by a form in suṃ or *ṃsu*, corresponding to Skt. sus, as in *adaṃsu*, *pāhesuṃ*, *ārocesuṃ*. from sthā we have *aṭṭhaṃsu*, Dh. 233, and *uṭṭhiṃsu*, Mah . 166; from jñā, *aññiṃsu*, Jāt. iii. 303; from khyā, *akkhaṃsu*, Jāt. iii. 481; from vā, *parinibbiṃsu*, Dīp. 51; from dhā, *samādahaṃsu*, Mahāsamayasutta vs 2; from kar, akaṃsu.

After the false analogy of the aorists in *āsi* we find also some aorists of verbs ending in a consonant, as *agamāsi*, pl. *agamaṃsu* (not *agamaṃsuṃ*, which is a mistake of the Burmese MSS.); *addasāsuṃ*, Jāt. ii. 256, and *adassaṃsu*, Papañca Sūdanī, ap. Alwis Introd. 73. Even the perfect *āha*,' he spoke, 'follows this inflexion, as we have *āhaṃsu*, Jāt. i. 121, comp. āhaṃsus of the Mahāvastu ap. Minayeff, Pāt. xliii. Another *āhaṃsu* is found in *payirudāhṃsu*, 'they uttered,' from √har, comp. Weber, Hāla , 184; Ind. Streifen iii.396.

The imperfest of the root as, 'to be,' is entirely formed after the analogy of these aorists :

āsiṃ āsi.	*āsiṃ*
āsi.	*āsittha.*
āsia.	*āsiṃsu.*

The first pers. *āsi* occurs Cariy. i, 4, 1. For the third we find a form *ehi*, Bv. xvi. 7, which looks like an abbreviation of the fut. of *i, e, etiti*, but perhaps the reading is incorrect.

Perfect

Parassapada		Attanopada	
a.	*mh.*	*i.*	*mhe.*
e.	*ttha.*	*ttho.*	*vho.*
a.	*u.*	*ttha.*	*re.*

Verbs ending in consonants insert *i* between the root and the consonatal terminations. Examples are not very frequent : *hā*, 'to leave,' forms *jahāra*, with a euphonic *r*, Kacc. 243; *child, ciccheda*, ib. 242; *budh, bubodha*, Att. 203; *suc, susoca*, Att. 212; *ah, āha*, third pl. *āhu*; *Nid, vidu*, Mah. 141.

Future

Parassapada		Attanopada	
ssāmi.	*ssāma.*	*ssaṃ*	*ssamhe.*
ssasi.	*ssatha.*	*ssase.*	*ssavhe.*
ssati.	*ssanti.*	*ssate.*	*ssante (ssare).*

The termination *aṃ* of the first sing. attan. is only an abbreviation of *āmi* in parassap. and occurs frequently in old texts as *dassaṃ, bhokkhaṃ*, Das. 7, 29; *hessaṃ, pūrayissaṃ*, Ten Jāt. 91. This form is identical with the first sing. aorist according to the second formation in *issaṃ*, as *sandhāvissaṃ*, and this is the reason why they have often been mistaken one for the other.

The future may be formed from the root or from the special base. If it is formed from the root the terminations may be added directly, or by the auxiliary vowel *i*.

(*a*) Futures formed from the root directly : *pacessati*, Dh. 9; *vicessati*, Kacc. 27, both from *ci*; *vijessati*, from *ji*, Dh. 9; *dakkhati*= drākshyati, √darç, *sakkhiti* from çak ; *lacchati* from labh Dh. 96= latsyati for lapsyati (comp. the aorist *alattha* for alabdha), *sambhossāma* from *bhū*, Mah. 28; *vacchāmi* from *vac* Khuddasikkhā 174; *pavekkhati* from viç, Mah. 153; *checchaṃ* from *chid*, Jāt. iii. 500 (*samucchissatha*, Gr. 254, is formed after the false analogy of the other futures in *issati*): from *i* we have *esaṃ*, Jāt. iii. 535, and *upessaṃ*, Dhaniya S. Childers, s.v. *upeti*; from *han*, first pers. pl., *hañchema*, Jāt. ii. 418, with an *e*, instead of *ā*, that I cannot explain. Trenckner takes this and *dakkhema*, Mahāsamay, v. 25, as optatives of the fut., but this is without any analogy. *Āhañchi*, M., i. 6, 8, Trenckner, P.M. 74; *bhejjati*, Ang. i. 5, 7, is most probably a mistake for *bhecchati* (like *acchejji* for *acchecchi*, above, p. 84).

The future is sometimes used in the sense of an imperfect, as *dassāmi*, Cariy. i. 3, 4; *pariyesissāmi*, Cariy. i. 6, 5; *pavissāmi* for *pavisissāmi*, from viç, Cariy. i. 9, 56 (*pavissāmi* as future occurs Jāt. ii. 68). Perhaps these are only aorists with primary terminations like *addasāmi* (above, p. 82).

(*b*) Futures formed from the root by the auxiliary vowel *i* : *āyamissaṃ*, Jāt. ii. 284 (and *āgamicchati*, Dh. ix. 12, formed after the false analogy of *dicchati*, if it is not merely a blunder); *niggahissati*, Dh. 96; *saṃvasissare*, in a passage of the Apadāna, quoted in Oldenberg's Buddha, 419; *labhissati*, Dh. 121; *nahāyissati* from snā; *parinibbāyissati*, Dh. 333, from parinirvā and *parinibbissaṃ*, Bv. xxvi. 23, with loss of the root-vowel.

(*c*) Futures formed from the special base, mostly by the auxiliary vowel *i* : *jinissati* from *ji*, and *cinissati* from *ci*, Dh. 209; *āgacchissati*, Dh. 84; *passissati*, Dh. 88, 89; *pajahissati*, Dh. 311; *pahinissati*, Dh. 84; *pāpunissati*, Dh. 101; *sunissāmi* from çru, Jāt. i. 129; *paridadhassati*, Dh. 115.

With *e* in *paridahessati*, Dh. v. 9; *niggahessāmi*, Dh. v. 326 (see above, p. 73).

In the 2nd pers. sing., 3rd pers. sing. and pl. we find sometimes *i*, instead of a, most probably from the *y* assimilated in the consonantal

group, as *sakkhiti* for *sakkhati*, Sadda Nīti *sakkhinti*, Dhaniya S.; *dakkhisi*, F. J. 23; *dakkhinti*, Mah. 83; M. i. 7, 10.

In some futures the sibilant has migrated into *h*, as *kāhāmi* for karshyāmi, from kar, Cariy. i. 5, 9. Jāt. i. 214; *kāhati*, Jāt. ii. 443 (besides *kassāma*, Mah. 12; *kassaṃ* in a modern text; I.O.C. 121); comp. kāhīti of the Mahāvastu Minayeff, 109; *vihāhisi* from vihar, Dh. 68 (besides *vihassati*, Aruṇavatisutta, v. 2); *hāhasi*, from hā, Jāt. iii. 172; *paññāyihinti*, Jāt. xvi. 1, 5, from prajñā, ehiti from *i*. From *hū*=bhū we have *hohiti*=bhoshyati and *hehiti*=bhavishyati which may be further contracted into *heti*.

A peculiarity of the Pāli is the double future formed from bases like *dakkh* by the ordinary termination *issati*. The base *dakkh* came to be used exactly like a present base as we see from the imperf. *dakkiṃ*, Jāt. i. 25 (which cannot be identified directly with the Skt. aorist adrākshaṃ); from the present *dakkhati*, frequent in later texts, from the inf. *dakkhituṃ*, m.v. 1, 2; *dakkhitāye* (not *dakkhitāya*), Mahāsamayas, vs. 1, and from the causative *dakkhāpita*, Mil. 119. So we get a secondary future *dakkhissati, sakkhissati,* Dh. 84; *sukkhissati*, from çush. 'to dry,' Dh. 234; *pavakkhissaṃ* from vac, Cariy. i. 1, 2, *hehissati,* Kacc. 249.

A curious form is *dicchatti,* Jāt. 450 vs. 7 (*dicchati,* 'to see', Alwis, Inrodu. 42; evidently derives from dṛç). Trenckner, P.M. 61, folowing Vanaratana derives it from adikshat, but the comm. explains it by *dadanti*. I think it is the desiderative of *dā* used as a new root with the meaning of the primitive verb, and this would speak in favour of Weber's explanation of *dakkhati* and *dekkhati* as desideratives (see Kuhn's Beitr. vii. 485ff., Insische Streifen xiv. 69ff.). Childers and Pischel (Beitre. vii. 450ff.) explain them as futures, P. and S. Goldschidt derive them from the part. dṛshṭa with a change of sounds similar to that in *dukkha*=duḥstha (see above, p. 27). The secondary base *sukkh* from çush (see the Causatives) speaks in favour of Goldschmidt's theory. As for *pavecchati,* Jāt.i.28, Mil. 375, I am unable to decide whether it is really the future of viç or, as Trenckner suggests, identical with *payacchati*.

Conditional

Parassapada		Attanopada	
ssaṃ,	*ssamhā.*	*ssaṃ,*	*ssamhase*
sse, ssa, ssasi,	*ssatha.*	*ssase,*	*ssavhe.*
ssā, ssa, ssati,	*ssaṃsu.*	*ssatha,*	*ssiṃsu.*

With regard to the base the same rules apply to the conditional as to the future. Instances are, 1st pers. *apapessaṃ*, Jāt. ii. 11 (v. 1. *pāpeyyauṃ*); 2nd pers., *bhavissa* ib., *agghāpessasi*, Jāt. ii. 31, v. 1., for *agghāpeyyāsi*; 3rd pers., *agamissā*, Kacc. 263; *alabhissa, asakkhissa,* Dh. 292; *paññāpessa*, and *abhavissati* in a passage of Saṃyuttaka Nikāya Buddha, 443, where Oldenberg wants to change it into abhavissa. For the pl. I can adduce no instances from texts.

Passive

The passive is formed by adding the syllable *ya*, already mentioned as characteristic of the third class. This syllable may be added to the root or to the present base, as *gacchīyati*, Kacc. 263; and *gamīyati*, Dīp. 70, from *gam*, 'to go;' *vussati* and *vasīyati* from *vas*, 'to dwell;' *hāyati*, Dh. v. 364, and *hīyati*, Kacc. 257, from *hā*, 'to forsake;' *gayhoti* and *gheppati* from *grah*, 'to take;' *tāyati* from *tan*, 'to stretch,' Jāt. iii. 283; Rūp. 37. About *vuḍḍhate* from *vah*, Kacc. 237 (see above, p.36).

The rules about the assimilation of *y*, which is optional, are given above, p. 48 ff.

The terminations of the passive are those of the attanopada and parassapada without any fixed rule.

An anomalous form of the passive is *sussute*, from çru, 'to hear,' Indische Streifen, iii. 398.

Causative

Just as *ya* is the characteristic of the passive, *aya* is the characteristic of the causative (being the seventh class). The roots is generally strengthened before this termination, as *lāveti* from *lū*, 'to reap,' *nāyeti* from nī, to lead,' *gūhayati* from *guh*, 'to hide,' but we have also exceptions to this rule, as *cudita* instead of *codita*, M. iv. 16; *bhaṇeti* = bhāṇayati, *gameti* = gāmayati.

The second form of the caustive with *p* is much more frequent in Pāli than in Skt. It may be formed jar, Jāt. i. 238; *bhiṃsāpeti* (v. 1. *hiṃsāpeti*), from *bhī*, Pāt. 15; *piṃsāpeti* from pish, Mah. 175, besides *piṃseti*, Jāt. ii. 363; *jināpeti* from *ji* (present base *jin*), Kaccāyanabhedatīkā, I.O.C. 91; *sukkhāpeti*, Dh. 188, from çush (secondary base *sukkh*, derived from the Part. çushka, in *sukkhamāna*, Jāt. i. 304); *upalāpeti* from *upalī*, M. v. 2, 21; Jāt. ii. 266, comp. Rhys David's Buddhist Suttas, p. 5; *suṇāpeti*, Dh. 166, from çru (present base *suṇ*); *cetāpeti* from *ci* (through confusion with *cit*); *chejjapeti* from *child*, mil. 90;

ānāpeti from *ānī*. On the difference in the signification of the two forms of the causative comp. Oldenberg K.Z. xxv. 323.

A causative with double *p* is *viññāpāpeti*, from vijñā, 'to casue to be asked for,' Pāt. 105.

Pivati froms its caus. *pāyati* and *pāyeti*, *gah : gāheti* and *gāhāpeti; han ; haneti* and *ghāteti; sampiyāyamāna*, Jat. i. 297, 361, ought to be corrected into *sampiyamāna*, according to Senart Mahāvastu, 556.

Desiderative

The desiderative is formed from the reduplicated root, by adding an *s : jighacchati* from *ghas*, 'to eat,' sometimes written *jigacchati* (Grünwedel das sechste Kapitel d. Rūpasiddhi, p. 70); jigucchati from *gup; titikkhati* from *tij*; *cikicchati* and *tikicchati* from *kit; pipāsati* and *pivāsati* from *pā; bubhukkhati* from *bhuj; sussusati* from *çru; dicchati* from *dā* (see above); *jigiṃsati* from *har. Han* has a desiderative without reduplication, *pahaṃsati*, Jat. ii. 104; Pass. *pahaṃsiyati*, Mil. 326; *vīmaṃsati* from *man*, is only a phonetical change for *vīmaṃsati*.

Intensive

Intensives are also formed from the reduplicated root and sometimes take *ya*, as *daddallati*=jājvalyate; *lālapatti* from lap; *kākacchati* from kath, Jāt. i. 61, 318, Mil. 85; without ya, but with a nasal in the reduplication syllable, we have *caṅkamati* from kram ; *jaṅgamati* from *gam, cañcalati* from cal.

Sākacchati, 'to talk,' Pāt. xv. seems to be formed after the false analogy of *kākacchati* without reduplication.

Denominative

Denominatives may be formed with and without reduplication. The terminations are the following :

(1) *Āyati* in *pabbatāyati, samuddāyati, cicciṭāyati* and *ciṭicitāyati*, 'to splash,' M. vi. 27, 7, Mil. 258; *dolāyati*, Jāt. ii. 385; *tintiṇāyati*, Jāt. i. 243, 244; *gaggarāyati*, Mil. 3; *verāyati*, Dīp. 83; *gaḷagaḷāyati*, Mahāparin, 48; *pariyāyati*, Samanta Pāsād. 332; *pattiyāyati*, 'to believe,' Jāt. i. 426, where Fausb. wrongly has adopted the reading *saddiṃ yāyasi*, comp. Trenckner, P.M. 79; *harāyati*, M. i. 63, 1; Suttavibh. i.68.

(2) *Iyati, īyati* in the examples given by Kacc. 233, which I have not found in any text, and besides in *paṭiseṇiyati*, Fausb. S. N. 64; *gaṇiyati*, Mil. 114; aṭṭiyati, 'to be hurt,' M. i. 63, 1.

(3) *Ayati, eti*, in the examples given by kacc. 235 which are not found in any text, and besides in *bāheti* from bahis, 'to remove,' Senart Mahāvastu, 431 ; *yanteti* Jāt. i. 418 ; *vijaṭrti* and *cijaṭāpeti*, to disentangle ;' *samoshāneti*, 'to join,' part. *samodhānita*, Jāt. iii. 272 ; *theneti*, 'to steal,' Dh. 114, Jāt. iii. 18.

For *sammanneti*, Ras. 69, we ought most probably to read *sammanneti*, (Dh. 333), which is a denominative from mantra.

(4) *ati* in *pariypdānati*, 'to cease,' Dh. 331 ; *sārajjati*, 'to be ashamed,' Pāt. xliv.; *osaṇhati*, 'to smooth,' C.V. 2, 3.

20. Participles

The Present participle terminates in ant or anta, which is added to the present stem, *e.g.*, *labhaṃ* or *labhanlo*. About the declension of these participles and some other peculiarities, comp. p. 57. The same termination *ant* or *anta* is also used for the paritciple of the future, whhich, however, does not occur very frequently, *e.g.*, *karissnṃ* Dāṭh. iii. 80.

In the attanopada we have the terminations *māna* and *āna* used almost wlthout any difference gtom brtbs of all classes, the latter being more or less restricted to the ancient language. From *kar* we have the regular from *kubbāna*=kurvāṇa, Dh. v. 217, but also *karāṇa* in *purekkarāna*; From çī, 'to lie down ,' we have *sayamāna*, Kh. 16; çush, 'to dry,' *sukkhamāna*, Jāt. i. 304; from *vas*, 'to dwell,' *samāna*, Mah.121; from *as*, 'to be,' *samāna*, Kacc. 258. A contraction takes place in *sampajāno* for *sampajānāno* from jñā, 'to know,' Dh. v. 293.

The old perfect participle in vaṃs has almost totally disappeared; a few remaining traces have been give above, p. 57.

The past participle passive is formed by adding the terminations ta and na as in Sanskrit.These may be added to the root or to the present stem with or withouit the vowel *i*. From *vas* we have, according to Kacc. 291, *vusita* and *vuṭṭha, e.g., upavuṭṭha*, Cariy. ii. 3,2; *parivuttha*, Pāt. 6; *parvutted.*, Mil. 205; *eusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ*, 'the religious duties have been fulfilled,' a location very frequent in canonical texts, *e.g.*, M. v. 1, 18; besides *vasita*, Mah. 123, where we ought to read *pabbajjāsitaṭṭhāne* and *adhivattha*, Dh. 165, 341, 392 (*adhivuttha*, Mahāparin. 23). From *jhash*, 'to hurt,' we have *jhatta*, Mah. 146, Dh. 325, where the correct readiṅg is *ahātakajjhattā*. From *pat*, 'to fall,' we have patita but also *patta* in *pattakkhandha*, 'cresfallen,' Mil. 5, Ass. S. 17. From *icchati*, 'to wish,' we have *iṭṭha* (or *yiṭṭha* after a word

ending with a vowel) and *ıcchita*, which is wrongly given as a separate article by Childers. *Dhā* form the regular participle *hita*; *dhāta*, Mil. 238, Gr. 301, M. vi. 25, 1, S. ii. 51, is most probably from dhrā (see M. 384). Somewhat irregular is *khata* for *khāta* from hhan, 'to dig,' Kacc. 296, and the participles with n, where the Skt. drops it as *bandha*=baddha, Kacc. 130; *pilandha*, Mil. 337, from *pi+nah; randha*=raddha, Mil. 107; *parikanta*=parikṛitta, Suttavibh. i. 89 (but *parikatta*, Mil. 188).

Participles in *na* are somewhat more frequent in Pāli than in Skt. and in a few instances we find both forms from the same root, *e.g.*, from *dā* we generally have *dinna*, but also *datta* in *atta*=ādatta, Fausb. S. N. 150, 153, Dh. v. 406; from *rud*, 'to weep,' we have *rodita*, Ab. 165 and *ruṇṇa* or *roṇṇa*, Kh. 12, Das. 36, Jāt. iii. 166, which is not an equivalent of *rudana* as Childers thought. From *lī* we have *sallīna*, 'depressed,' but also *sallita*, Cariy. iii. 11, 10. Jyā forms *jīna*, Suttavibhanga, i. 220, comp. Pāṇ. viii. 2, schol. ; çā, *sīna* in saṃsīnapatta, S.N.7. At v. 30 of the same Khaggavisāṇasutta we have *saṃchinna*, for which Senart Mahāvastu, 629, 630, gives the better reading *saṃchaṇṇa* from chard.

From this past participle passive is formed a secondary derivative by adding the suffixes *vat* or *vin* (the latter with lengthening of the *a*). This derivative has succeeded in its use to the lost past participle active in vaṃs. Examples are *vusitavanto*, Mil. 104; *hutavā, hutāvī, bhuttavā, bhuttāvī*, Kacc. 281.

The participle of necessity is formed by adding the terminations *tabba, tayya*=tavya, *amīya, ya*. These terminations can be joined with or without the vowel *i*. Examples with *tabba* are frequent enough; *jinitabba*, Dh. 101; *metabba*, Kamm. 8; *varijānitabba*, Dh. 151; *pativijjhitabba*, Dh. 259; *pariyāpuṇitabba*, Alw. N. 23; *tuṭṭhabba*, Jāt. i. 476-tayya is, as far as I know, only given by grammarians. *Anīya* we have in *karaṇīya*; *ya* in *sakkuṇeyya*, Mah. 141, and in *asaṃhīra* for asamharya, Dīp. 31.

The infinitive generally terminates in *tuṃ*, as *gantum*, 'to go;' *suṇituṃ*, 'to hear,' from the present stem, Mil. 91;p *saṭṭhuṃ*=prashṭuṃ, 'to ask,' Parābhavasutta, v. 1; *parimetum* from *mā*, Mil. 192; *jinituṃ* from *ji*, Kacc. 319; *nikhātuṃ*, from *khan*, Cariy. iii. 6, 16; from *budh* we have *patisambuddhuṃ* and *duboddhuṃ*, Kacc. 8. Besides we have also the ancient vedic terminations *tave, taye*, and *tāye*, *e.g.*, *pahātave*, Dh. v. 34; *niketave*, Jāt. iii. 274; *nidhetave*, Jāt. iii. 17; *netave*, Dh. v.

180; with *tuye, gaṇetuye*, Bv. iv. 28; *marituye*, Therīgāthā, 165; with *tāye dakkhitāye*, Mahāsamayasutta v. 1; *jagghitāye*, Jāt. iii. 226.

A curious form of the infinitive is *etase* from *i*, Therīgāthā, 151.

Gerund

The gerund is formed by adding the suffixes *tvā* (*tvāna* and *tūna*) and *ya*. In Dhp. the use of *ya* is resticted to compound verbs as in Skt., but later on it is also used for the single verb. Before these terminations the root genarally appears in the same shape as in the infinitive. Examples are very frequent: *tvā* in *netvā*=nītvā (inf. *netuṃ*). From dṛiç, we have the anomalous gerund *disvā*, where the *t* is entirely lost; *dassitvā*. Suttavibhanga, ii. 64, should be changed into *passitvā*. From *hā*, 'to forsake,' we have the reduplicated form jahetvā, Dīp. 56, and *jahitvā*, Dhp. 85, 333; from sthā, *sttiṭṭhitvā*, Dīp. 335; *upatiṭṭhitvā*, Mil. 231. A contracted form is *anuvicca*=anuviditvā (comm. *jājitvā*), Jāt. i. 459, Ang. ii. 2, 7, Fausb. S. N.xi.

Tvāna in *passitvāna*, Mah. 165; *jahitvāna*, Dh. 215; *sunitvāna*, Das. Jāt. 33; *jinitvāna*, Dh. 286; *chetvāna*, Dīp. 96; *vatvāna*, Dh. 193; *daditvāna*, Cariy. i. 9, 26; *pavakkhitvāna*, Mahāsamyasutta, 3. From the Skt. we can compare pītvānaṃ, Pāṇ. vii. 1, 48.

Tūna in *kātūna* or *kattūna*, Kacc. 310; Suttavibhanga, i. 96; *āpucchitūna*, Therīgāthā, 165; *chaḍḍūna*, ib. 169; *nikkhamitūna*. Theragāthā, 11; *aotūnaṃ*, at the beginning of the Mahāvagga of the Dīghanikāya I. O.C. 69.

Ya in *āhacca*=āhṛitya (Skt. āhārya), in *āhaccapāda*, 'a sort of bed,' frequent in the Vinaya; *āhacca*=āhatya from *han*, Mah. 45, Kacc. 302; *upachacca*=upahatya, ib., *uhacca*, Mahāsamayasutta, v.3; *abbuyha* from ā+bṛh, Dh. 255; *nikacca*=nikṛtya, Suttavibhanga, i. 90; and most probably also *paṭigacca*=pratikṛitya, with softenting of the *k*, comp. Trencker, Mil. 421; *paticca*=pratītya, but *adhicca* I perfer to derive with Childers from adhṛtya, answering to Skt. adhārya. *Cicca*, Khuddasikhā and *sañcicca*, Pāt. 3, 66, Suttavibhanga, i. 73, most probably stand for cintya=cintayitvā (comm. *jānanto*). From *i* we have *anvāya*, frequent in Dh. formed after the false analogy of *māya* from *mi*; from grah, *samuggahāya*, 'having embraced,' Fausb. S.N. 152.

Sometimes the termination *ya* of the gerund is dropped and the root alone remains, *e.g.*, *abhiññā* for *abhiññāya*, 'having known;' *paṭisaṅkhā* for *paṭisankhāya*, 'having reflected,' *anupādā* for *anupādāya*, Dīp. 15.

In a few cases we find a gerund with double suffix combined from *ya* and *tvā*, *e.g.*, *abhiruyhitvā* for *abiruyha*, Kacc. 129; *ogayhitvā* for *ogayha*, Mah. 261; *sajjhitvā* from *sad*, Bālāvatāra, s. 58.

The suffix *tuṃ* of the inf. can be used also for the gerund, but this use seems to be limited to a few verbs. In the Pālimokkha we have a gerund, *abhihaṭṭhuṃ* from *har*, which agrees exactly with the corresponding Jaina forms puraükāuṃ and gantuṃ (see my Beiträge zur Gramm. d. Jaina Prākṛt, p. 61). From Rhys David's and Oldenberg's note, Vinaya Texts, ii. 400, it appears as if they wanted to identify this form with those in *tvāna* and *tūna* like *nikkamitūna*; we learn, however, from Hem. ii. 146, that in *abhihaṭṭhuṃ* and the corresponding Prākṛt forms, the suffix of the inf. is used instead of the gerund. A similar form, distinguished only by the loss of the anusvāra is *daṭṭhu*=drashṭuṃ, 'having seen,' parallel with *disvā*, S. N. 73, Theragāthā, 48 The corresponding Prāk. from is given as daṭṭuṃ by Hem. 1. 1.; but we have also in Jaina Prāk. forms without anusvāra, as kaṭṭu and haṭṭu from kar and har.

As an exercise for the student, I give the text of a Jātaka, with a literal translation, and complete analysis of the words :

VALĀHASSAJĀTAKA

(Fausböll's edition, vol. ii., p. 127, ff.)

Atīte Tambapaṇṇīpe Sirīsavatthun nāma yakkhanagaraṃ ahosi. Tattha yakkhiniyo vasiṃsu. Tā bhinnanāvānaṃ āgatakāle alaṃkatapaṭiyattā khādaniyaṃ bhojaniyam gāhāpetvā dāsigaṇaparivutā dārake aṃkenādāya vāṇije upasaṃkamanti. Tesaṃ manussavāsaṃ āgat' amhā 'ti sañjānanatthaṃ tattha tattha kasigorakkhādīni karonte manusse gogaṇe sunakhe ti evam ādīni dassenti vānijānaṃ santikaṃ gantvā "imaṃ yāguṃ pivatha bhattaṃ bhuñjatha khādaniyaṃ khādathā" ti vadanti. Vāṇijā ajānantā tāhi dinnaṃ paribhuñjanti. Atha tesaṃ khādivā bhuñjitvā vissamitakāle paṭisanthāraṃ karonti. "Tumhe katthavāsikā kuto āgatā kahaṃ gacchissatha kena kammena idhāgat' atthā 'ti pucchanti "bhinnanāvā hutvā idhāgat' amhā" ti vutta ca "sādhu ayyā amhākam pi sāmikānaṃ nāvaṃ abhirūhitvā gatānaṃ tīni saṃvaccharāni atikkantāni te matā bhavissanti, tumbe pi vāṇijā yeva mayaṃ tumhākaṃ pādaparicārikā bhavissāmā" ti vatvā vatvā te vāṇije itthikuttabhāvavilāsehi palobhetvā yakkanagaraṃ netvā sace paṭhamagahitā manussā atthi te devasaṃkhalikāya bandhitvā kāraṇaghare pakkhipanti. Attano vasanaṭṭhāne bhinnanāvamanusse alabhantiyo pana parato Kalyāṇiṃ orata Nāgadīpaṃ ti evaṃ sanuddatīraṃ anuvicaranti, ayaṃ tāsaṃ dhammatā. Ath' ekadivasaṃ

pañcasatā bhinnanāvā vāṇijā tāsaṃ nagarasamīpe uttariṃsu. Tā tesaṃ santikaṃ gantvā palobhetvā yakkhanagaraṃ ānetvā pahamagahitamanusse devasaṃ-khalikāya bandhitvā kāraṃaghare pakkhipitvā jeṭṭhakayakkhinī jeṭṭhakavāṇijaṃ sesā sese ti tā pañcasatā yakkhiniyo te pañcasate vāṇije attano sāmike akaṃsu. Atha sā jeṭṭhayakkhinī rattibhāge vāṇije niddaṃ gate uṭṭhāya gantvā kāraṇaghare manusse māretvā maṃsaṃ khāditvā āgacchati. Sesāpi tath' eva karonti. Jeṭṭhayakkhiniyā manussamaṃsaṃ khāditvā āgatakāle sarīraṃ sītalaṃ hoti. Jeṭṭhavāṇijo pariganhanto tassā yakkhinibhāvaṃ ñatvā "imā pañcasatāpi yakkhiniyo bhavissanti, amhehi palāyituṃ vaṭṭatīti" punadivase pāto va mukhadhovanatthāya gantvā sesavāṇijānaṃ ārocesi : imā yakkhiniyo na mānusiyo, aññesaṃ bhinnāvānam āgatakāle te sāmike katvā amhe khādissanti, etha amhe palāyāmā" ti tesu aḍḍhateyyasatā "mayaṃ etā vijahituṃ na sakkissāma, tumhe gacchatha, mayaṃ na palāyissāmā' tāhamsu. Jeṭṭhavāṇijo attano vacanakare aḍḍhateyyasate gahetvā tāsaṃ bhīto palāyi. Tasmiṃ pana kāle Boddisatto valā hassayoniyaṃ nibbatti, sabbaseto kākasīso muñjakeso iddhimā vehāsaṃgamo ahosi. So Himavantato ākāse uppatitvā Tambapaṇṇidīpaṃ gantvā tattha Tambapaṇṇisare pallale sayaṃjātasāliṃ khāditvā gacchati, evaṃ gacchanto va "janapadaṃ gantukāmā atthi janapadaṃ gantukāmā atthīti" tikkhattum karuṇāya paribhāvitaṃ mānusivācaṃ bhāsati. Te tassa vacanaṃ sutvā upasaṃkamitvā añjaliṃ paggayha "sāmi mayaṃ janapadaṃ gamissānā" ti āhaṃsu. "Tena hi mayham puṭṭhiṃ abhirūhathā" ti Ath' ekacce abhirtūhiṃsu ekacce vāladhim gaṇhimsu ekacce añjaliṃ paggahetvā aṭṭhaṃsu yeva. Bodhisatto antamaso añjalim paggahetvā ṭhite sabbe pi te aḍḍhateyyasate vāṇije attano ānubhāvena janapadaṃ netvā sakasakaṭṭhānesu patiṭṭhāpetvā attano vasanaṭṭhānaṃ agamāsi. Tāpi kho yakkhiniyo aññesaṃ āgatakāle te tattha ohīnake aḍḍhatey-yasate nanusse vadhitvā khādiṃsu.

Translation

In former times there was in the island of Laṅkā a Yakkha city called Sirīsavatthu. Therein dwelt Yakkhinīs. These, whenever a shipwereck took place, in splendid clothing, taking soft and hard food, surrounded by female salves, carrying children on their hips, went to meet the merchants. That they might think, "We have come to a abode of men," they would show here and there men ploughing and tending cattle and so forth, herds of cattle, dogs, etc., and approaching the merchants they would say, "Drink this rice gruel, partake of this rice, eat this food." The merchants, unawares, enjoy what is given by them. Thus having eaten and enjoyed, while resting,

they exchange friendly greetings. They ask : "Where do you live? whence do you come? whither are you going? on what business have come hither ?'' They answer . "We have come hither, having been shipwrecked.'' [Then the Yakkhhinīs say] : "Well, sirs, three years have passed since our husbands went on board ship and went away; they must be dead; you are also merchants, we will be your servants." Thus they enticed those merchants with female blandishments, and leading them to the Yakkha city, the first men being captured, having bound them as it were with supernatural chains, they hurry them into the abode of destruction. If they do not obtain shipwrecked men near their own place of abode, they wander along the sea-shore as far as Kalyāṇi on the other side, and Nāgadīpa on this side, and this is their custom. On a certain day, 500 merchants came to their city. The females approaching them, enticed them, and bringing them to the Yakkha city, binding the men whom they first captured as with supernatural chains, they hurried them into the abode of destruction. the first Yakkhinī took the chief merchant, the others the remainder, and so the 500 Yakkhinīs made the 500 merchants their husbands. Then the chief Yakkhinī in the night time, when the merchants had gone to sleep, rising, goes to the abode of destruction, and, kelling men, eats their flesh, and returns. The others do likewise When the chief Yakkhinī returned, after having eaten the human flesh, her body was cold. The chief merchant, having embraced her, knew that she was a Yakkhinī, and thought : "These must be 500 Yakkhinīs; we must escape." On the morrow, in the early morning, on going to wash his mouth, he told the other merchants: "These are Yakkhinīs, not human beings; when other shipwrecked men come, they will make them their husbands, and devour us. Shall we not flee? But 250 said : "We are unable to leave them; you go; we shall not flee." The chief merchant, having persuaded the 250 by his advice, fled, terrified at the females. Now at that very time the Bodhisattva was born from the womb of a mare; he was pure white, black headed, muñja haired, possessed of supernatual power, being able to go through the air. Rising through the air from the Himavanta, he went to the isle of Tambapaṇṇi, and having eaten paddy, produced spontaneously in the lakes and ponds of Tambapaṇṇi, he went on, and thus proceeding, said compassionately three times in a well modulated human voice : "Does any person wish to go? Does any person wish to go? They, hearing the speech, came near with folded handds, and said : "Sir, we folk wich to go." "Then get upon my back," said he. Then some got on his back, some seized his tail, but

stood with folded hands Bodhisatta, by his own supernatural power, conveying all the 250 merchants, even those standing with folded hands, placing each in his own place, returned to his own abode. But the Yakkhinīs, when the time of the others had come, killed the remaining 250 and are them.

This story is another version of the well-known myth of the Sirens, as was pointed out for the first time by Dr. Morris, in the "Academy" of Aug. 27, 1881 (reparinted in the "Indian Antiquary" for October, 1881, pp. 292-93)

Atīte, 'in the former times,' loc. sing. of the past part. of *i* 'to go,' with *ati*.

Tambapaṇṇidīpe, 'in the island of Ceylon,'=Tāmarparnidvīpe, loc. sing., tāmraparṇi literally means 'copper leaf,' most probably from the colour of the soil in the island. Ceylon was called the 'Island of the Demons,' as can be seen from Senart "Le Légende du Bouddha," p. 272, *et seq*. Allusion is made to this my th also in the Lalitavistara, p. 196, ed. Cale.:

Laghu gagane vrajase kṛipāto rākhasadvīpaṃ.

Vyasanaçata manujān tada gṛhya kshame sthapesi.

Sirīsavatthun (v. 1. °*vatthu*) nom. sing. of a neuter *u*-stem. About the locality of this fabulous town nothing is known to me.

Nāma, nom. sing. of a neuter *n*-stem.

Yakkhanagaraṃ, nom. sing. of a neuter *a*-stem.

Ahosi, 3rd. pers. sing. Aorist of *bhū* or *hū*, 'to be.'

Tattha=tatra, 'there,' adverb of place.

Yakkhiniyo, nom. pl of *yakkhinī*, 'a female *yakkha*.'

Vasiṃsu, 3rd. pl., aorist of *vas*, 'to dwell.'

Tā, nom. pl. fem. of the demonstr. pronoun.

Bhinnanāvānaṃ, gen. pl. of a bahuvrīhi compound from *bhinna* and *nāvā*, 'ship.' *Bhinna* is the past part. pass. of *bhid*, 'to break,' and the whole compound means 'shipwrecked.'

Āgatakāle. *Āgata* is past part. pass. from *ā*+*gam*, 'to go,' and *kāle*, loc. of *kāla*, 'time.'

Alaṃkatapaṭiyattā, a compound of two past participles. *Alaṃkata* + Skt. alaṃkrita, 'adorned, embellished,' from *alaṃ*+*kar*. *Paṭiyatta*

from prati+yat, 'to prepare, to dress.' The whole compound stands in the nom. pl. f.

Khādaniyaṃ, acc. sing. n. of the part. of necessity of √*khād*, 'to eat.' It means literally, 'that can be chewed,' *i.e.*, 'solid food.'

Bhojaniyaṃ, acc. sing.n. of the part. fo necessity of √*bhuj*, 'to eat.' means, in opposition to *khādaniyaṃ*, 'soft, or wet food,' as boiled rice, etc.

Gāhāpetvā, gerund of the causative of √*gah*, 'to take,' lit 'to sause to be taken.'

Dāsigaṇaparivuṭā, nom. pl. f., parallel to *alaṃkatapaṭiyaṭṭā Dāsigaṇa*, 'a troop of female slaves,' *parivuṭa*, past part. pass. of *pari+var*, 'to surroud.'

Dārake, acc. pl. of *dāraka*, 'child.'

Aṃkenādāya. Amkena, instr. sing. of *aṃka*, 'hip,' *ādāya*, gerund of ā+dā, 'to take.' The whole means 'having taken on the hip.'

Vāṇije, acc. pl. of *vāṃjc*, 'merchant.'

Upasaṃkamanti, iii. pl. pres. of upa+saṃ+kraṃ, 'to approach.'

Tesaṃ, gen. pl. m. of the demonstr. pronoun.

Manussavāsam, acc. sing. of *manussa*, 'man,' and *vāsa*, 'dwelling.'

Āgat' stands in sandhi for *āgatā*, nom. pl. of the past part. of *ā+gam* (see above, *āgatakale*).

Amhā ti stands in sandhi for *amha iti. Amha* is 1st pers. pl. pres. of the verb subst. as. *Iti* is generally used after a quotation.

Sañjānanatthaṃ, composed from *sañjānana*, 'perceiving,' and the acc. of attha, 'purpose.' It means 'for the purpose of perceiving.'

Tattha, tattha, see above. The repetition is distributive, 'here and there.'

Kasigorakkhādini, kasi=kṛshi, 'ploughing,' *gorakkhā*, 'cowkeeping;' ādīni is the neuter pl. of *ādi*, 'etc.' The whole compound is an acc. dependent from the following *karonte*.

Karonte, acc. pl. m. pres. part. of *kar*, 'to make.' This belongs to *manusse* and depends from *dassenti*.

Manusse, acc. pl. of *manussa*, 'man.'

Gogaṇe, acc. pl. 'herds of cattle.'

Sunakhe, acc. pl. of *sunakha*, 'dog.'

Tī=iti, see above.

Evaṃ, paarticle, 'thus.'

Ādīni, acc. pl. n. of *ādi*, 'etc.'

Dassenti, 3rd pers. pl. pres. caus. of darç, 'to see.'

Vānijānaṃ, gen. pl. of *vāṇija*, 'merchant,' dependent from *satikaṃ*.

Santikaṃ, acc. of *sa*+*antika*, 'near.'

Imaṃ, acc. sing. f. of the demonst. pronoun.

Yāguṃ, acc. sing. of *yāgu*=yavāgu, 'rice-gruel,' a fem. *u*-stem.

Pivatha, 2nd pers. pl. imp. of *pibati*, 'to drink.'

Bhattaṃ, acc. sing. of *bhatta*=bhakta, 'boiled rice.'

Bhuñjatha, 2nd pers. pl. imp. of *bhunjati*, 'to eat.'

Khādaniyaṃ, see above.

Khādatha, 2nd pers. pl. imp. of *khādati*, 'to eat'. The long a is the crasis, as in *amhā*, above.

Vānijā, nom. pl. of *vāṇija*.

Ajānantā, nom. pl. f. of the pres. part. of jñā, 'to know,' with *a* privativum, 'not knowing.'

Tāhi, instr. pl. of the demonstr. pronoun.

Dinnaṃ, acc. sing. past part. of *dā*, 'to give.' The substantive is understood.

Atha, particle, 'then.'

Khāditvā, gerund from *khād*.

Bhuñjitvā, gerund from *bhuj*.

Vissmitakāle, similar to *āgatakāle*, above. *Vissamita*, past part. from *vi*+*çram*, 'to rest.'

Paṭisanthāraṃ, acc. sing. of a masc. *a*-stem.

Karonti, 3rd pers. pl. pres. of *kar*.

Tumhe, nom. pl. pers. pronoun, 2nd pers.

Katthavāsikā, nom. pl. of compound from *kattha*=kutrs, 'where,' and *vāsika*, 'living.'

Kuto=kutas, 'whence.'

Āgatā, nom. pl. of *ahata*, see above.

Kahaṃ, interrog. particle, 'where, whither.'

Gacchissatha, 2nd pers. pl. fut. of *gacch*, the present stem of *gam*, 'to go.'

Kena kammena, instr. sing. of the interrog. pronoun and *kamma*=karman, 'business.'

Idhāgat'=*idha*+*āgatā*.

Attha, 2nd pers. pl. pres. of *as*, 'to be.'

Pucchanti, 3rd pers. pl. pres. of *pucch*, 'to ask.'

Bhinnanāvā, nom. pl., see above.

Hutvā, gerund of *bhū* or *hū*, 'to be.'

Vutte, locative absolute of the past part. of *vac*, 'to speak.'

Ca, 'and,' copulative particle.

Sādhu, neuter adjective, 'well.'

Ayyā, voc. pl. of ārya, 'sir.'

Amhākaṃ, gen. pl. personal pronoun, 1st pers.

Pi=api, 'also.'

Sāmikānaṃ, gen. pl. of *sāmika*, 'husband.'

Nāvaṃ, acc. sing. of *nāvā*, 'ship.'

Abhirūhitvā, gerund of *abhiruh*, 'to mount.'

Gatānaṃ, gen. pl. of *gata*. This belongs to *sāmikānaṃ* and depends from *tīṇi saṃvaccharāni atikkantānuy*.

Tīṇi, nom. pl. n. of the numeral stem *ti*, 'three.'

Saṃvaccharāni, nom. pl. of a neuter *a*-stem.

Atikkantāni, nom. pl. n. past part. of ati+kram, 'to go beyond, to pass.'

Te, nom. pl. m. demonstr. pronoun.

Matā, nom. pl. past part, of *mar*, 'to die.'

Bhavissanti, 3rd pers. pl. fut. of *bhū*, 'to be'

Tumhe, see above.

Yeva in Sandhi for *eva*.

Mayaṃ, nom. pl. pers. pronoun, 1st pers.

Tumhākaṃ, gen. pl. pers. pronoun, 2nd pers., see above, *amhākaṃ*.

Pādaparicārikā, nom. pl. f. from *pāda*, 'foot,' and *particārika*, 'servant.'

Bhavissāma, 1st pers. pl. fut. of *bhū*.

Vatvā, gerund from *vac*, 'to say.'

Itthikuttabhāvavilāsehi, compound from *itthi*=strī, 'woman,' *kutta* of unknown etymology, most probably synonymous with the following *vilāsa*, 'charm, beauty.' The whole stands in the instr. pl.

Palobhetvā, gerund of the caus. of *pra+lubh*, 'to seduce.'

Yakkhangarṃ, the acc. to denote the direction, 'to the Yakkha city.'

Netvā, gerund of *nī*, 'to lead.'

Sace, conjuction, 'if.'

Paṭhamagahitā, from *paṭhama*, 'first,' and *gahita*=gṛhīta, past part. of grah, 'to take' The whole stands in the nom. pl.

Atthi, 3rd pers. sing., instead of the plural.

Devasaṃkhalikāya, from *deva*, 'god,' and *saṃkhalikā*=çṛṅkhala, 'a chain.' The whole is a tappurisa compound, and stands in the instr. case.

Bandhitvā, gerund from *banth*, 'to bind.'

Kāraṇaghare, loc. of *kāraṇa*, 'destruction,' and *ghara*=gṛha, 'house.'

Pakkhipanti, 3rd pers. pl. pres. of pra+kship, 'to throw'

Attano, gen. sing. of *attā*=ātman, 'self.'

Vasanaṭṭhāna, loc. of *vasana*, 'dwelling,' and sthāna, 'place.'

Alabhantiyo, nom. pl. f. of the pres. part. of *labh*, 'to obtain,' with a privativum.

Pana=punar, 'again.'

Parato and *orato*, abl. sing. of *para*, 'further,' and *ora*, 'hither.'

Kalyāṇiṃ and *Nāgadīpaṃ*, acc. of direction. *Kalyāṇi* must be the modern Kaelani on the Kaelani Gaṅgā, about six miles from Colombo, where there is a celebrated Buddhist temple. *Nāgadīpa* is most probably identical with the *Naggadīpa* of the Mahāvaṃsa (p. 46), which island Vijaya is said to have touched on his way from Bengal to Ceylon, but nothing can be made out about the situation of this island.

Samuddatīraṃ acc. from *samudda*, 'the sea,' and *tīra*, 'the shore.'

Anuvicaranti, 3rd pers. pl. pres. of *anu+vi+car*, 'to wander along.'

Ayaṃ, nom. sing. f. of the demonstr. pronoun.

Tāsaṃ, gen. pl. f. of the demonstr. pronoun *ta*.

Dhammatā, 'occupation,' f. *ā*-stem.

Ekadivasaṃ, from *eka*, 'one,' and *divasa*, 'day.' Acc. to denote time.

Pañcasatā, nom. pl. of *pañca*, 'five,' and *sataṃ*, *Nagarasamīpe*, loc. of *nagara*, 'town,' and samīpa, 'hundred'. 'neighbourhood.'

Uttariṃsu, 3rd pers. pl. aorist from *ut+tar*, 'to cross over.'

Gantvā, gerund from *gam*, 'to go.'

Ānetvā, see *netvā*, above.

Pakkhipitvā, gerund from pra+kship

Jetthakayakkhinī, 'the chief or first Yakkhinī.'

Sesā, nom. pl. f. and *sese*, acc. pl. m. of *sesa*, 'other'

Vāṇije and *sāmike*, acc. pl.

Akaṃsu, 3rd pess. pl. aorist from *kar*.

Rattibhāge, loc. to denote time.

Niddaṃ, acc. of *niddā*, 'sleep,' to denote the direction, dependent from *gate*.

Gate, acc. pl. belongs to *vāṇije*.

Uṭṭhāya, gerund from *ut+sthā*, 'to get up.'

Māretvā, gerund of the caus. of *mār*, means 'to kill.'

Āgacchati, 3rd pers. sing. pres. of *ā+gacch*.

Jeṭṭhakayakkhiniyā, gen. sing. dependent from *sarīraṃ*.

Manussamaṃsaṃ, acc. 'human flesh.'

Sītalaṃ, neuter adjective.

Sarīraṃ, nom. of a neuter *a*-stem.

Hoti, 3rd pers. sing. pres. of *bhū* or *hū*.

Parigaṅhanto, nom. sing. of a pres participle, from pari+grah, ' to embrace.'

Tassā, gen. sing. f. demonstr. pronoun.

Yakkhinibhāvaṃ, acc. 'quality of a Yakkhinī'.

Natvā, gerund from jñā, 'to know'.

Imā, nom. pl. f. demonstr. pronoun.

Bhavissanti, 3rd pers. pl. fut. of *bhū*.

Amhehi, dat. pl. pers. pronoun, 1st pers.

Palāyituṃ, inf. of *palāyati*, 'to flee.'

Vaṭṭati, 3rd pers. sing. pres. of vart, 'it behoves, it is right.'

Punadivase, 1. of *puna*, 'again,' and *divasa*, 'day,' means, 'on the next day.'

Pāto=prātar, 'early.'

Va for *eva* with the initial *e* elided after a long vowel.

Mukhadhovanatthāya, compound of *mukha*, 'mouth,' *dhovana*,

washing,' and *attha*. 'purpose,' the whole in the dat. to denote the intention.

Sesavāṇijānaṃ, gen. pl used instead of the dat. dependent from *ārocesi*.

Ārocesi, 3rd pers. sing. aor. from *ā+ruc*, 'to tell.'

Mānusiyo, nom. pl. of *mānusī*, the f of *mānusa*, 'man'.

Aññesaṃ, gen. pl. m. of *añña*, formed according to the pronominal inflexion.

Amhe, acc. pl. m. of the pers. pronoun, 1st pers.

Khādissanti, 3rd pers. pl. fut. of *khād*.

Etha, 2nd pers pl. imp. of *i*, 'to go.'

Amhe, nom. pl. m. of the pres. pronoun, 1st pers.

Palāyāma, 1st. pers. pl. imp. of *palāyati*.

Tesu, loc. pl. m. demonstr. pronoun.

Aḍḍhateyyasatā=ardhatrtīyaçatāḥ, literally, 'the third hundred half,' a very common way of expressing the number 250.

Etā, acc. pl. f. demonstr. pronoun.

Vijahituṃ, inf. of *vi+hā*, 'to forsake.'

Sakkhissāma, 1st pers. pl. of çak, 'to be able,' with the double fut. suffix, see p. 87.

Tumhe, nom. pl. m. pers. pronoun, 2nd pers.

Gacchatha, 2nd pers. pl. imp. of *gam*, 'to go.'

Palāyissāma, 1st pers pl. fut. of *palāyati*.

Āhaṃsu, 3rd pers pl. aorist of *ah*, 'to say.'

Vacanakare, loc. sing. of *vacana+kara*.

Aḍḍhateyyasate, acc. pl.

Gahetvā, ground of grah, 'to take.'

Tāsaṃ, gen. pl. f. demonstr. pronoun.

Bhīto, past part. of *bhī*, 'to fear.'

Palāyi, 3d. pers. sing. aor.

Tasmiṃ, loc. sing. m. demonstr. pronoun.

Pana=punar, 'again.'

Bodhisatto, nom. sing.

Valāhassayoniyam, compound from *valāha*, 'cloud,' assa, 'horse,' and *yoni*, 'womb.' The whole stands in the loc. sing

Nibbatti, 3rd pers aor. of *nis*+*vart*, 'to be born'

Sabbaseto=sarvaçveta, 'all white'

Kākasīso, literally, 'crow-headed.'

Muñjakeso, 'with hair like the *muñja*,' a certain sort of grass.

Iddhimā=ṛddhimant, nom. sing of a stem in *ant*.

Vehāsamgamo, nom. sing. of *vehāsa*=vihāyasa, 'the open air,' in the acc. case, and *gama*, verbal adjective of *gam*, 'to go.'

So, nom. sing. m. of the demonstr. pronoun.

Himavantato, abl sing of *Himavanta*, 'the Himālaya,' with suffix *to*.

Ākāse, loc. sing. of *ākāsa*, 'the sky.'

Uppatitvā, gerund from *ud*+*pat*, 'to rise.'

Tambapaṇṇidīpaṃ, acc. of direction.

Sare and *pallale*, are loc. sing. of *sara*=saras, 'the pond,' and *pallala*,=palvala, 'the pool.'

Sayaṃjātasāliṃ, acc. sing. of *sayaṃ*=savayam, 'self,' *jāta*, past part. from *jan*, 'to produce,' and *sāli*, 'rice.'

Janapadaṃ, acc of direction. *Janapada* is a compound from *jana*, 'people,' and *pada*, 'place'

Gantukāmā, nom. pl. of *gantu*, inf. of *gam*, 'to go,' and *kāma*, 'wishing.'

Atthi stands for the plural. The whole sentence is a question.

Tikkhattuṃ=tṛshkṛtvas, numeral adverb, 'three times.'

Karuṇāya, instr. sing. of *karunā*, 'mercy,' a fem. *ā*-stem.

Paribhāvitaṃ, acc. sing. f. of the past part. caus. of *pari*+*bhū*, 'to surround.'

Mānusivācaṃ, acc. sing. of the f. of *mānus*a, 'human,' and *vāc*, 'speech.'

Bhāsati, 3rd pers. sing. pres. of bhāsh, 'to speak.'

Tassa, gen. sing. m. demonstr. pronoun.

Vacanaṃ, acc. sing. of a neuter *a*-stem.

Stuvā, gerund of çru, 'to hear.'

Upasaṃkamitvā, gerund of upa+saṃ+kram, 'to approach.'

Añjalim, acc. sing of a m. *i*-stem.

Paggayha, gerund of pra+grah, 'to stretch forth.'

Sāmi, voc. sing.

Gamissāma. 1st. pers. pl. fut. of *gam*.

Mayham, dat. instead of gen. sing. of the pers. pronoun, 1st pers.

Piṭṭhiṃ, acc. of *piṭṭhī*=pṛshtha, 'back.'

Abhirūhatha, 2nd pers. pl. imp. of *abhi+ruh*, 'to ascend.'

Ekacce, nom. pl. of *ekacca*=ekatya (see above, p. 34) formed according to the pronominal inflexion.

Abhirūhiṃsu, 3rd pers. pl. aorist of *abhi+ruh*.

Vāladhiṃ, acc. sing. of a m. *i*-stem.

Ganhiṃsu, 3rd pers. pl. aorist of grah.

Aṭṭhaṃsu, 3rd pers. pl. aorist of sthā, 'to stand.'

Antamaso, abl. of the superlative *antama*, 'the last,' formed with the suffix ças (see p. 48).

Thite, acc. pl. of *ṭhita*, past part. of sthā

Anubhāvena, instr. sing. of a m. *a*-stem.

Sakasakaṭṭhānesu, compound from *saka*=svaka, 'own,' and *thāna*, 'place.' The repetition of *saka* is distributive.

Patiṭṭhāpetatvā, gerund of the caus. of prati+sthā, 'to establish.

Agamāsi, 3rd pers. sing. aorist of *gam*.

Tāpi=*tā api*.

Kho=khalu, 'indeed.'

Aññesaṃ, gen. pl. m. of *añña*, according to the pronominal inflexion.

Ohīnake, acc. pl. of the past part. of *ava+hā*, 'to forsake,' with the secondary suffix *ka*.

Vadhitvā, gerund of *vadh*, 'to kill.'

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